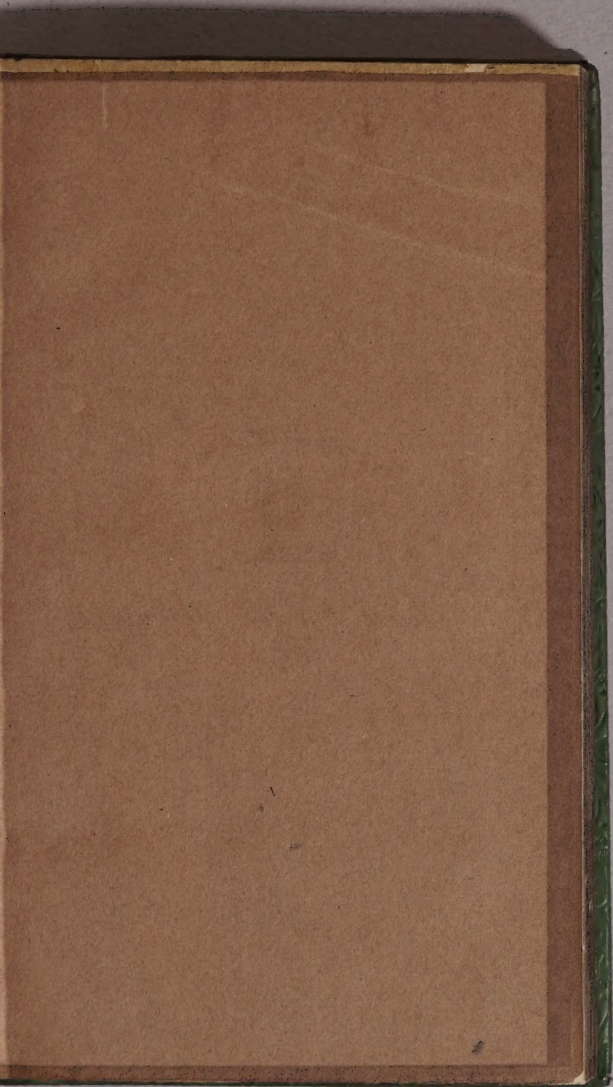
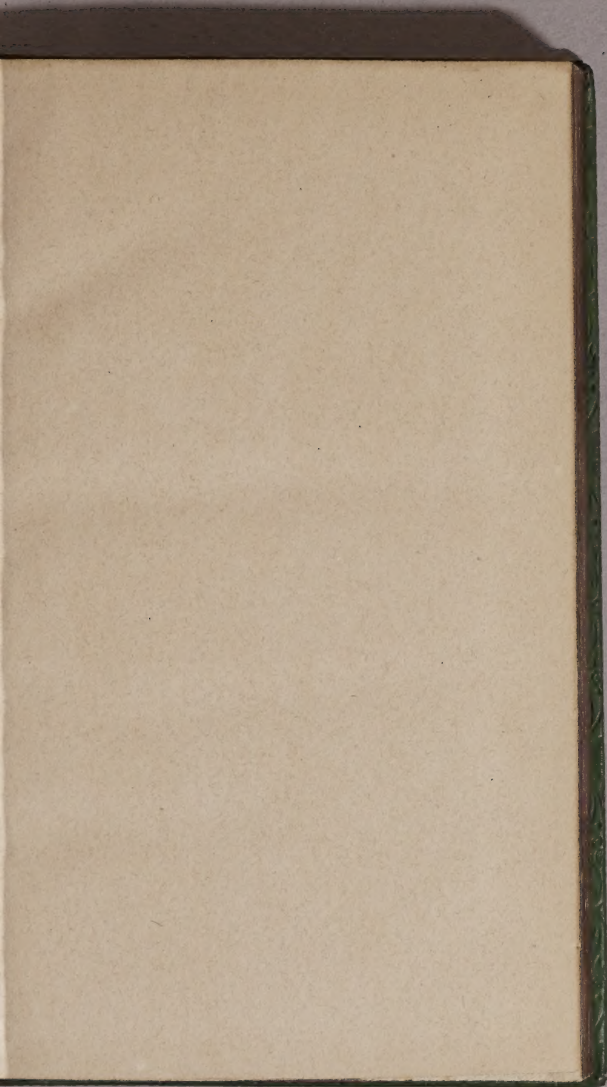


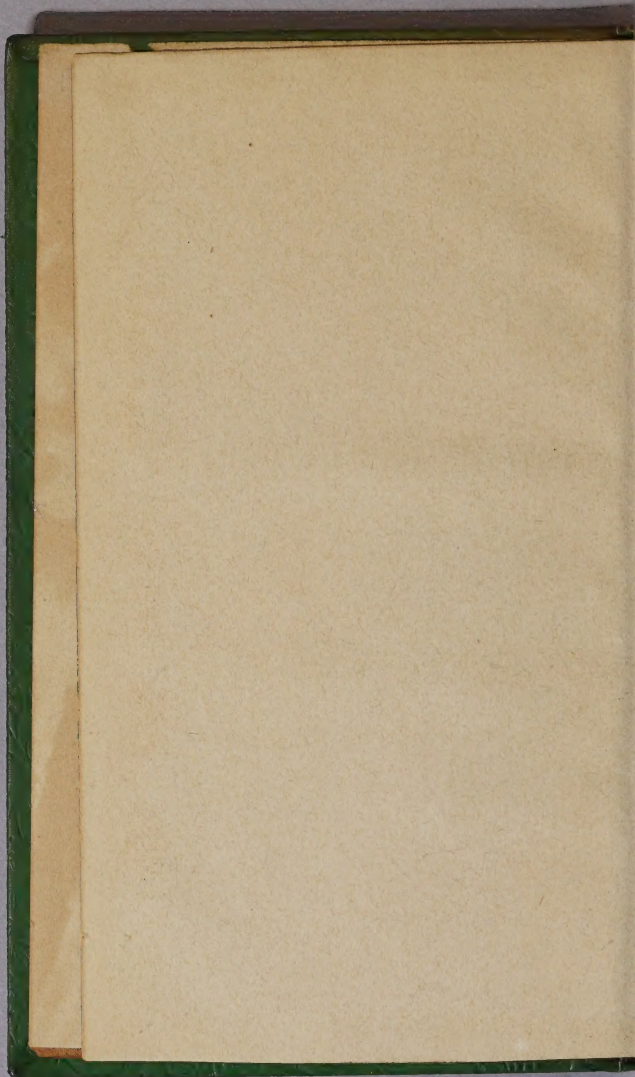


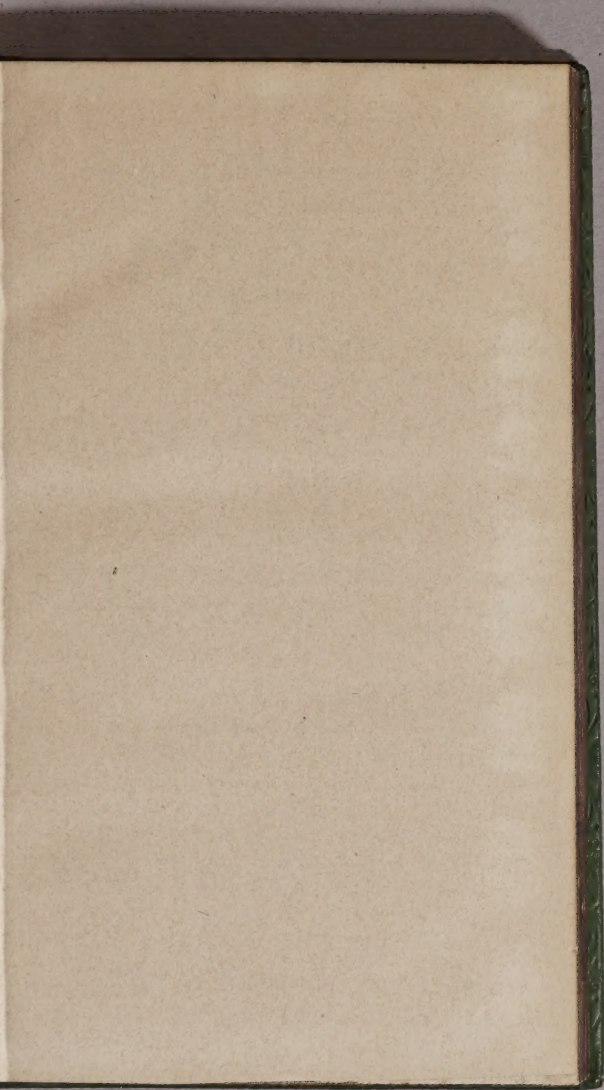
John Carter Brown.











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THE
LIFE and DEATH
Of the Reverend
Mr. JOHN ELIOT,
Who was the
First PREACHER
OF THE
G O S P E L
TO THE
INDIANS in *America.*

With an Account of the Wonderful Success
which the Gospel has had amongst the Heathen
in that Part of the World: And of the many
strange Customs of the Pagan *Indians,*
In *NEW-ENGLAND.*

Written by *Cotton Mather.*

*Religion stands on Tiptoe in our Land,
Ready to pass to the American strand.*---Herbert.

The Third Edition carefully Corrected.

L O N D O N:

Printed for John Dunton, at the *Raven* in
the *Poultry.* MDCXCIV.

JOHN CARTER BROWN.

COPIES

Written by James M. Smith.

Religion is a subject in which we are all
deeply interested, and which should be
carefully studied.

The above edition is now published.

LONDON:

Printed for J. M. Smith, at the Press in
the Strand, M.DCCCXIV.

May 10. 1713.

St. J. J. J.

To the Right Honourable PHILIP
Lord WHARTON, a no less
Noble than Aged Patron of Learn-
ing and Virtue; and a Favourite
of that Great King, *Whose Throne
is in the Heavens, and whose King-
dom Ruleth over all.*

May it please Your Lordship,

IF it be considered, that some Evangelical and Apostolical Histories of the New Testament, were by the Direction of the Holy Spirit Himself, Dedicated unto a Person of Quality, and that the Noble Person Addressed with One such Dedication, entertain'd it with Resentments that encouraged his dear Lucillas to make a Second; the World will be satisfied that I do a thing but Reasonable and Agreeable, when, unto a Narrative of many Evangelical and Apostolical Affairs, I presume to prefix the Name of one so Excellent, for Love to God, as Your Lordship is known to be; and One upon this account only, an Unmeet Subject for the Praises of the Obscure

The Dedication.

Pen which now writes that Quis Virtueperat? I do not, I dare not, so far intrude upon Your Honour, as to ask Your Patronage unto all the New English Principles and Practices which are found in the Character of our Celebrated ELIOT; for, as the Distance of a Thousand Leagues, has made it impossible for me to attend the (usual) Orders and Manners of asking first your Allowance for what I have openly Entitled you unto; so, the Renowned ELIOT is gone beyond any occasions for the greatest Humane Patronage.

But that which has procured unto your Lordship, the Trouble of this Dedication, is, My Desire to give you the Picture of One Aged Saint, lately gone to that General Assembly, which the Eternal King of Heaven by the Advances of your own Age in the way of Righteousness, does quickly Summon your Self unto. The profound Respect which our ELIOT had for your Honour, will doubtless be answered and requited with your own Value for the Memory of such a memorable Christian, Minister, and Evangelist; inasmuch as, Your Affections, like his, take not their Measures from these or those matters of Doubtful Disputation, but from such an universal Piety, and Charity, and Holiness, as he was an Instance of.

The Dedication.

No Man ever complained of it, that in the Works of Chrysostom we find Seven Orations not far asunder, in Commendation of Paul; nor is it any fault that I have now written One in Commendation of a Man whom a Pauline Spirit had made illustrious. In describing him, I have made but little Touches upon his Parentage, and Family, because as the truly Great Basil excuses his Omission of those things, in his Oration upon Gordius the Martyr, *Ecclesia hæc tanquam supervacua dimittit.* But I have related those things of him which cannot but create a good Esteem for him, in the breast of your Lordship, who are a Faithful and Ancient Witness against those Distempers of the World, whereby (as the blessed Salvian lamented it) *Cogimur esse Viles, ut Nobiles habeamur*; and raise the sweetness of your Thoughts upon your Approaches, which may our God make both slow and sure, unto that State, wherein, The Least is Greater than this **J O H N.** But if I may more ingenuously Confess the whole Ground and Cause of this Dedication, I must own, 'Tis to pay a part of a Debt; a Debt under which you have laid my Country, when you did with your own Honourable Hand, Present unto His Majesty the same Account which I have here again Published, Concerning the Success of the Gospel among the Indians in New-England.

The Dedication.

My Lord, in one ELIOT, You see what a People 'tis that you have counted worthy of your Notice; and what a People 'tis, that with ardent Prayers bespeak the Mercies of Heaven for your Noble Family. Indeed, it is impossible that a Country so full as New-England is, of what is truly Primitive, should not be exposed unto the bitterest Enmity and Calumny of those that will strive to entangle the Church in a Sardinian Unreformedness, until our Jesus do shortly make them know, that He has loved what they have hated, maligned, persecuted. But if the God of New-England have inclined any Great Personage to Intercede or Interpose for the prevention of the Ruines which ill men have designed for such a Country, or to procure for a People of an Eliot's Complexion in Religion, the Undisturbed Enjoyment and Exercise of that Religion: It is a thing that calls for our most sensible Acknowledgments.

It is an odd Superstition which the Indians of this Country have among them, that they count it (on the penalty of otherwise never prospering more) necessary for them, never to pass by the Graves of certain Famous Persons among them, without laying or leaving some Token of Regard thereupon. But we hope that all True Protestants will count it no more than what is equal and proper, that the Land which has in it the Grave of such a Remarkable Preacher to the Indians

The Dedication.

as our ELIOT, should be treated with such a Love, as a Jerusalem uses to find from them that are to prosper.

Upon that score then, let My Lord accept a Present from, and for, a Remote corner in the New-World, where God is praised on your behalf; a small Present made by the Hand of a Rude American, who has nothing to recommend him unto your Lordship, except this, that he is the Son of One whom you have admitted unto your Favours; and, That he is Ambitious to wear the Title of,

MY LORD,

Your Lordship's

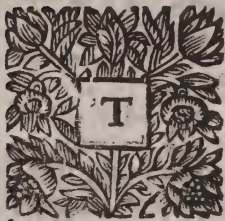
Most Humble and most

Obedient Servant,

COTTON MATHER.

1

THE
INTRODUCTION.



Was a very surprizing as well as an undoubted Accident which happened within the Memory of Millions yet alive, when certain Shepherds upon Mount *Nabo*, following part of their Stragling Flock, at length came to a *Valley*, the prodigious Depths and Rocks whereof rendred it almost inaccessible; in which there was a *Cave* of inexpressible Sweetness, and in that Cave was a Sepulchre that had very difficult Characters upon it. The Patriarchs of the *Maronites* thereabouts inhabiting, procured some Learned Persons to take Notice, and make Report of this Curiosity, who found the Inscription of the Grave-Stone to be in the *Hebrew* Language and Letter. *Moses*, the *Servant of the Lord*. The *Jews*, the *Greeks*, and the *Roman Catholicks*, thereabouts, were altogether by the Ears for

the possession of this Rarity; but the *Turks* as quickly laid Claim unto it, and strongly guarded it. Nevertheless, the *Jesuits* found a way by Tricks and Bribes to engage the *Turkish* Guards into a Conspiracy with them, for the Transporting of the inclosed and renowned Ashes into *Europe*; but when they opened the Grave, there was no Body, nor so much as a Relick there. While they were under the Confusion of this Disappointment, a *Turkish* General came upon them, and cut them all to pieces; therewithal taking a course never to have that place visited any more. But the Scholars of the *Orient* presently made this a Theme, which they Talkt and Wrote much upon; and, *whether this was the true Sepulchre of Moses*, was a question upon which many Books were published. The World would now count me very absurd, if after this I should say, that I had found the Sepulchre of *Moses* in *America*; but I have certainly here found *Moses* himself; we have had among us one appearing in the *Spirit and Power of a Moses*; and it is not the Grave, but the Life of such a *Moses*, that we value our selves upon being the owners of.

Having

Having implored the Assistance and Acceptance of that God, whose Blessed Word has told us, *The Righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance*; I am attempting to write the Life of a Righteous Person, concerning whom all things, but the meanness of the Writer, invite the Reader to expect nothing save what is truly extraordinary. 'Tis the Life of one who has better and greater things to be affirmed of him, than could ever be reported concerning any of those famous Men, which have been celebrated by the Pens of a *Plutarch*, a *Pliny*, a *Laertius*, an *Eunapius*, or in any Pagan Histories. 'Tis the Life of one, whose Character might very agreeably be look'd for among the Collections of a *Dorathens*, or the Orations of a *Nazianzene*, or is worthy at least of nothing less than the exquisite Stile of a *Melchior Adam* to Eternize it. If it be, as it is, a true Assertion, *That the least Exercise of true Faith or Love towards God in Christ, is a more glorious thing than all the Triumphs of a Cæsar*; there must be something very considerable in the Life of one, who spent several Scores of years in such Exercises; and of one, in the mention of whose Atchievements we may also recount, that he fought the Devil in (once) his *American*

rican Territories, till he had recovered no small Party of his old Subjects and Vassals out of his cruel Hands; it would be as unreasonable as unprofitable, for Posterity to bury the Memory of such a Person in the Dust of that Obscurity and Oblivion which has covered the Names of the *Heroes* who died before the Days of *Agamemnon*.

PRÆLIMINARY I.

THE

BIRTH, AGE, and FAMILY of
Mr. *E L I O T*.

'Tis the Life of the Reverend John Eliot, which is to be now put into our Pages; a Life which commenced about the Year 1604. And Expired in the Year 1690.

THE inspired *Moses* relating the Lives of the Ante-diluvian Patriarchs, in whom the Church of God, and Line of Christ was continued, through the first Sixteen hundred Years of time, recites little but their Birth, and their Age, and their Death, and their Sons and Daughters. If those Articles would satisfy the Appetites and Enquiries
of

of such as come to Read the Life of our *Eliot*, we shall soon have dispatch'd the Work now upon our hands. The Age, with the Death of this Worthy man, has been already terminated in the Ninetieth year of the present Century, and the Eighty sixth Year of his own Pilgrimage. And for his Birth, it was at a Town in *England*, the Name whereof I cannot presently recover; nor is it necessary for me to look back so far as the place of his Nativity, any more than 'tis for me to recite the Virtues of his Parentage, of which he said, *Vix ea nostra voco*. The *Atlantick Ocean*, like a River of *Lethe*, may easily cause us to forget many of the things that happened on the other side. Indeed the Nativity of such a Man were an Honour worthy the Contention of as many Places as laid their Claims unto the famous *Homer's*; but whatever Places may challenge a share in the Reputation of having Enjoy'd the first Breath of our *Eliot*, it is *New-England* that with most right can call him hers; his best Breath, and afterwards his last Breath, was here; and here 'twas that God bestow'd upon him *Sons and Daughters*.

He came to *New-England* in the Month of *November*, *A. D.* 1631. among those Blessed old Planters, which laid the Foundations of a remarkable Country, devoted unto the Exercise

Exercise of the Protestant Religion, in its purest and highest Reformation: He left behind him in *England* a vertuous young Gentlewoman, whom he had pursued and purposed a *Marriage* unto; and she coming hither the year following, that *Marriage* was Consummated in the Month of *October*, *A. D. 1632.*

This *Wife* of his *Youth* lived with him until she became to him also the *Staff* of his *Age*; and she left him not until about three or four years before his own Departure to those Heavenly Regions, where they now together *see Light*. She was a Woman very Eminent both for *Holiness* and *Usefulness*, and she excelled most of the *Daughters* that have done vertuously. Her Name was *Ann*, and *Gracious* was her Nature. God made her a rich Blessing, not only to her *Family*, but also to her *Neighbourhood*; and when at last she died, I heard and saw her aged Husband, who else very rarely wept, yet now with Tears over the Coffin, before the good People, a vast confluence of which were come to her Funeral, say, *Here lies my Dear, Faithful, Pious, Prudent, Prayerful Wife; I shall go to her, and she not return to me! My Reader will of his own accord excuse me, from bestowing any further Epitaphs upon that gracious Woman.*

By

By her, did God give him six worthy Children; Children of a Character which may for ever stop the mouths of those *Antichristian* Blasphemers, who have set a false brand of Disaster and Infamy on the Offspring of a *Married Clergy*. His First-born was a Daughter, born *Sept. 17. A. C. 1633*. This Gentlewoman is yet alive, and one well-approved for her Piety and Gravity. His next was a Son, born *Aug. 31. A. C. 1636*. He bore his Father's Name, and had his Father's Grace. He was a Person of notable Accomplishments, and a lively, zealous, acute Preacher, not only to the *English*, at *New-Cambridge*, but also to the *Indians* thereabout. He grew so fast, that he was found ripe for Heaven many years ago; and upon his Death-bed uttered such penetrating things as could proceed from none but one upon the Borders and Confines of Eternal Glory. 'Tis pity that so many of them are forgotten; but one of them, I think, we have cause to remember: *Well (said he) my dear Friends, there is a dark Day coming upon poor New-England; and in so dark a Day, I pray how will you provide for your own Security? My Counsel to you is, get an Interest in the Blessed Lord Jesus Christ; and that will carry you to the Worlds end.* His Third was also a Son, born De-

cemb. 20. A.C. 1638. him he call'd *Joseph*, and made a *Joseph* of him: This Person is at this time a Pastor to the Church at *Guilford*, and one of great note, as well thro' the whole Country, as in the particular Colony of *Connecticut*, which God has made him considerable to. His Fourth was a *Samuel*, born *June 22. A.C. 1641.* who died, a most lovely young Man, Eminent for Learning and Goodness, a Fellow of the Colledge, and a Candidate of the Ministry. His Fifth was an *Aaron*, born *Febr. 15. A.C. 1643.* who tho he did very young, yet first manifested *many good things towards the Lord God of Israel.* His last was a *Benjamin*, born *Jan. 29. A.C. 1646.* Of all these Three it may be said, as it was of *Haran*, *They died before their Father*; but it may also be written over their Graves, *All these died in Faith.* By the pious Design of their Father, they were all Consecrated unto the Service of God, in the Ministry of the Gospel; but God saw meet rather to fetch them away, by a Death, which (therefore) I dare not call *Pramature*, to glorify him in another and better World. They all gave such Demonstrations of their Conversion to God, that the good old Man would sometimes comfortably say, *I have had six Children, and I bless God for his free-grace,*

grace, they are all either *with Christ*, or in *Christ*; and my mind is now at rest concerning them. And when some asked him, How he could bear the Death of such excellent Children? His humble Reply thereunto was this, *My desire was, that they should have served God on Earth; but if God will chuse to have them rather serve him in Heaven, I have nothing to object against it, but his Will be done.* His Benjamin was made the Son of his Right hand, for the Invitation of the good People at Ruxbury placed him in the same Pulpit with his Father, where he was his Assistant for many years; there they had a Proof of him, that as a Son with his Father, he served with him in the Gospel. But his Fate was like that which the great Gregory Nazianzen describes in his Discourse upon the Death of his honourable Brother, his aged Father being now alive and present: *My Father, having laid up in a better World, a rich Inheritance for his Children, sent a Son of his before, to take possession of it.*

P R Æ L I M I N A R Y II.

Mr. Eliot's early Conversion, sacred Employment, and just Removal into America.

BUT all that I have hitherto said, is no more than an entrance into the History of our *Eliot*. Such an *Enoch* as he, must have something more than these things recorded of him; his *Walk with God* must be more largely laid before the World, as a thing that would bespeak us all to be *Follower*s, no less than we shall be *Admirers*, of it.

He had not passed many *turns* in the World, before he knew the meaning of a saving *turn* from the Vanities of an Unregenerate State, unto God in Christ, by a true Repentance; he had the singular happiness and privilege of an *Early Conversion* from the ways which *Original Sin* disposes all Men unto. One of the principal Instruments which the God of Heaven used in tinging, and filling the mind of this *Chosen Vessel* with good Principles, was that Venerable *Thomas Hooker*, whose Name in the Churches of the Lord Jesus, is *As an Oyntment poured forth*; even that *Hooker*, of whom Worthy Master *Fuller* could write:

As

As *Latimer* would not stick to say, *St. Bilney*, so neither I to say, *St. Hooker*; that *Hooker*, who having *Angled* many scores of Souls into the Kingdom of Heaven, at last laid his Bones in our *New-England*; it was an Acquaintance with him, that contributed more than a little to the Accomplishment of our *Elisba*, for that Work unto which the most High designed him. His Liberal Education having now the Addition of Religion to direct it, and improve it, it gave such a *Bias* to his young Soul, as quickly discovered it self in very signal Instances. His first appearance in the World after his Education in the *University at Cambridge*, was in the too difficult, and *unthankful*, but very necessary Employment of a *School-Master*, which Employment he discharged with a good Fidelity. And as this *first Essay* of his Improvement was no more Disgrace unto him, than it was unto the famous *Hierom*, *Whitaker*, *Vines*, and others, that they thus began to be serviceable; so it rather prepared him for the further Service which his mind was now set upon. He was of Worthy *Mr. Thomas Wilson's* mind, that the calling of a Minister was the only one, wherein a Man might be more serviceable to the Church of God, than in that of a *School-Master*. Wherefore having Dedicated him-

self

self unto God betimes, he could not reconcile himself to any lesser way of Serving his Creator and Redeemer, than by the Sacred Ministry of the Gospel; but, alas, where should he have Opportunities for the exercising of it? It was now a time, when some hundreds of those amiable People which had the Nick-name of *Puritans* put upon them, Transported themselves, with their whole Families and Interests, into the Desarts of *America*, that they might here peaceably erect *Congregational Churches*, and therein attend and maintain all the pure Institutions of the Lord Jesus Christ; having the encouragement of *Royal Charters*, that they should never have any Interruption in the Enjoyment of those *precious and pleasant Things*. Here was a prospect which quickly determined the devout Soul of our young *Eliot*, unto a remove into *New-England*, while it was yet a *Land not sown*; he quickly Lifted himself among those Valiant Soldiers of the Lord Jesus, who cheerfully encountred first the Perils of the *Atlantick Ocean*, and then the Fatigues of the *New-English Wilderness*, that they might have an undisturbed Communion with him in his Appointments here. And thus did he betimes procure himself the Consolation of having afterwards, and for ever, a room in that remembrance of God, *I re-*
member

member thee, the Kindness of thy Youth, and the Love of thine Esponsals, when thou wentest after me into the Wilderness.

On his first arrival to *New-England*, he soon joyned himself unto the Church at *Boston*; 'twas *Church-work* that was his Errand hither. *Mr. Wilson*, the Pastor of that Church, was gone back into *England*, that he might perfect the Settlement of his Affairs; and in his Absence, young *Mr. Eliot* was he that supplied his place. Upon the return of *Mr. Wilson*, that Church was intending to have made *Mr. Eliot* his Colleague, and their Teacher; but it was thus diverted, *Mr. Eliot* had engaged unto a select Number of his Pious and Christian Friends in *England*, that if they should come into these Parts before he should be in the Pastoral Care of any other People, he would give himself to *Them*, and be for *Their* Service. It happened, that these Friends transported themselves hither the year after him, and chose their Habitation at the Town which they called *Roxbury*. A Church being now gathered at this place, he was in a little while *Ordained* unto the Teaching and Ruling of that holy Society. So 'twas in the Orb of that Church that we had him as a *Star fixed* for very near Threescore years; it only remains that we now observe what was his *Magnitude* all this while, and how he performed his *Revolution*.

PART. I.

Or, Eliot as a Christian.

ARTICLE I.

His Eminent Piety.

SUCH was the Piety of our *Eliot*, that like another *Moses*, he had upon his Face a continual *Shine*, arising from his uninterrupted Communion with the Father of Spirits. He was indeed a *Man of Prayer*, and might say after the Psalmist, *I Prayer*, as being in a manner made up of it. Could the Walls of his old Study speak, they would even ravish us with a Relation of the many hundred and thousand fervent Prayers which he there poured out before the Lord. He not only made it his daily practice to enter into *that Closet*, and shut his Door, and pray to his Father in secret, but he would not rarely set apart whole Days for Prayer with Fasting in secret places, before the God of Heaven. Prayer solemnized with Fasting was indeed so agreeable unto him, that I have sometimes

times thought he might justly inherit the Name of *Johannes Fjunator*, or *John the FASTER*, which for the like reason was put upon one of the Renowned Ancients. Especially, when there was any Remarkable Difficulty before him, he took this way to encounter and overcome it; being of Dr. Preston's mind, *That when we would have any great things to be accomplished, the best Policy is to work by an Engine which the World sees nothing of.* He could say as the Pious Robertson did upon his Death-bed, *I thank God I have loved Fasting and Prayer with all my heart!* If one would have known what that sacred thing, *The Spirit of Prayer*, intends, in him there might have been seen a most luculent and practical Exposition of it. He kept his heart in a frame for Prayer, with a marvellous Constancy, and was continually provoking all that were about him thereunto. When he heard any considerable News, his usual and speedy Reflection thereupon would be, *Brethren, let us turn all this into Prayer;* and he was perpetually jogging the Wheel of Prayer, both more privately in the Meetings, and more publickly in the Churches of his Neighbourhood. When he came to an House that he was intimately acquainted with, he would often say, *Come, let us not have a Visit without a Prayer; let us pray down*
the

the Blessing of Heaven on your Family before we go. Especially when he came into a Society of Ministers, before he had sate long with them, they would look to hear him urging, *Brethren, the Lord Jesus takes much notice of what is done and said among his Ministers when they are together; come let us pray before we part.* And hence also his whole Breath seemed in a sort made up of Ejaculatory Prayers; many scores of which winged Messengers he dispatched away to Heaven upon pious Errands every day. By them he bespoke Blessings upon almost every Person or Affair that he was concerned with; and he carried every thing to God with some pertinent *Hosannah's* or *Hallelujah's* over it. He was a mighty and an happy Man, that had his Quiver full of these heavenly Arrows: And when he was never so straitly besieged by human Occurences, yet he fastned the wishes of his devout Soul unto them, and very dexterously shot them up to Heaven over the head of all.

As he took thus delight in speaking to the Almighty God, no less did he in speaking of him; but in serious and savoury Discourses he still had his Tongue *like the Pen of a ready Writer.* The Jesuits once at *Nola* made a no less prophane than severe Order, *That no man should speak of God at all;* but this excellent

B

cellent Person almost made it an Order wherever he came, *to speak of nothing but God*. He was indeed sufficiently pleasant and witty in Company, and he was affable and facetious, rather than morose in Conversation; but he had a remarkable Gravity mixed with it, and a singular Skill of raising some Holy Observation out of whatever Matter of Discourse lay before him; nor would he ordinarily dismiss any *Theme* without some gracious, divine, pithy Sentence thereupon. Doubtless he imposed it as a Law upon himself, that he would leave something of *God*, and *Heaven*, and *Religion*, with all that should come a near him; so that in all Places his Company was attended with Majesty and Reverence; and it was no sooner proper for him to speak, but, like *Mary's* opened Box of Oyntment, he fill'd the whole Room with the Perfumes of the Graces in his Lips; and the Christian-hearers tasted a greater sweetness in his well-seasoned Speeches, than the Illustrious *Homer* ascrib'd unto the Orations of his *Nestor*, *Whose Lip drop'd Language, than sweet Hony sweeter abundance*.

His Conferences were like those which *Tertullian* affirms to have been common among the Saints in his Days, *Ut qui sciret Dominum audire*, as knowing that the Ear of God was open to them all; and he managed his Rud-

der,

der, so as to manifest that he was bound Heaven-ward, in his whole Communicati-on. He had a particular art at Spiritualizing of Earthly Objects, and raising of high Thoughts from very mean things. As once, going with some feebleness and weariness up the Hill on which his Meeting-house now stands, he said unto the Person that led him, *This is very like the way to Heaven, 'tis up Hill! the Lord by his Grace fetch us up!* and instantly spying a Bush near him, he as nimbly added, *And truly there are Thorns and Briars in the way too!* Which instance I would not have singled out from the many thousands of his Occasional Reflections, but only that I might suggest unto the good People of Rox-bury, something for them to think upon, when they are going up to the House of the Lord. It is enough, that as the Friend of the Famous *Ursin* could profess that he never went unto him, without coming away, *aut doctior aut melior*, either the wiser or the better from him; so, 'tis an acknowledgment which more than one Friend of our *Eliot's* has made concerning him, *I was never with him, but I got, or might have got some good from him.*

And hearing from the Great God, was an Exercise of like satisfaction unto the Soul of this good Man, with speaking either to him, or of him. He was a mighty Student of the

Sacred Bible; and it was unto him as his necessary Food. He made the Bible his Companion, and his Councillor, and the Holy Lines of Scripture more Enamoured him, than the profane ones of *Tully* ever did the Famous *Italian* Cardinal. He would not, upon easy terms, have gone one day together without using a Portion of the Bible as an *Antidote* against the *Infection* of Temptation. And he would prescribe it unto others, with his *probatum est* upon it; as once particularly a pious Woman, vexed with a wicked Husband, complaining to him, That bad Company was all the Day still infesting of her House, and what should she do? He advised her, *Take the Holy Bible into your Hand, when the bad Company come, and you'll soon drive them out of the House*; the Woman made the experiment, and thereby cleared her House from the haunts that had molested it. By the like way 'twas that he cleared his heart of what he was loth to have nesting there. Moreover, if ever any Man could, he might pretend unto that evidence of Uprightness, *Lord, I have loved the habitation of thine House*; for he not only gave something more than his presence there twice on the Lord's Days, and once a Fortnight besides on the Lectures, in his own Congregation; but he made his Weekly Visits unto the Lectures in the Neighbouring

Neighbouring Towns; how often was he seen at *Boston, Charlestown, Cambridge, Dorchester*, waiting upon the Word of God, in the recurring Opportunities, and counting a *Day in the Courts of the Lord better than a thousand!* It is hardly conceivable, how in the midst of so many Studies and Labours as he was at home engaged in, he could possibly repair to so many Lectures abroad; and herein he aimed not only at his own Edification, but at the Countenancing and Encouraging of the Lectures which he went unto. Thus he took heed that he might hear, and he took as much heed how he heard; he set himself as in the presence of the Eternal God, as the *Great Constantine* used of old, in the Assemblies where he came, and said, *I will hear what God the Lord will speak*; he expressed a diligent attention, by a watchful and wakeful Posture, and by turning to the Texts quoted by the Preacher; he expressed a suitable affection by feeding on what was delivered, and accompanying it with hands and eyes devoutly elevated; and they whose good hap 'twas to go home with him, were sure of having another Sermon by the way, until their very *Hearts burned in them*. *Lactantius* truly said, *Non est vera Religio, quæ cum Templo relinquitur*; but our *Eliot* always carried much of Religion with him from the House of God.

In a word, he was one who lived in *Heaven* while he was on *Earth*; and there is no more than pure Justice in our endeavours that he should live on *Earth* after he is in *Heaven*. We cannot say that we ever saw him walking any whither, but he was therein walking with God; wherever he sat, he had God by him, and it was in the everlasting Arms of God that he slept at Night. Methoughts he a little discovered his heavenly way of living, when walking one day in his Garden, he plucked up a Weed that he saw now and then growing there; at which a Friend presently said unto him, *Sir, you tell us we must be Heavenly minded*; but he immediately repli'd, *It is true; and this is no impediment unto that; for were I sure to go to Heaven to morrow, I would do what I do to day*. From such a frame of Spirit it was that once in a Visit, finding a Merchant in his Counting-house, where he saw Books of Business only on his Table, but all his Books of Devotion on the Shelf, he gave this Advice unto him, *Sir, Here's Earth on the Table, and Heaven on the Shelf; pray don't sit so much at the Table as altogether to forget the Shelf; let not Earth by any means thrust Heaven out of your mind*.

Indeed I cannot give a fuller Description of him, than what was in a Paraphrase that I have heard himself to make upon that Scripture,

Scripture, *our Conversation is in Heaven*. I writ from him as he uttered it.

‘ Behold, *said he*, the Ancient and Excellent Character of a true Christian ; ’tis that which *Peter call Holiness in all manner of Conversation* ; you shall not find a Christian out of the way of Godly Conversation. For, first, a seventh part of our time is all spent in *Heaven*, when we are duly zealous for, and zealous on the Sabbath of God. Besides, God has written on the head of the Sabbath, *Remember* ; which looks both forwards and backwards ; and thus a good part of the Week will be spent in *Sabbatizing*. Well, but for the rest of our *Time* ! why, we shall have that spent in *Heaven*, ere we have done. For, secondly, we have many Days for both *Fasting* and *Thanksgiving* in our Pilgrimage ; and here are so many *Sabbaths* more. Moreover, thirdly, we have our *Lectures* every Week ; and pious People wont miss them, if they can help it. Furthermore, fourthly, We have our *private Meetings* wherein we Pray, and Sing, and repeat Sermons, and confer together about the things of God ; and being now come thus far, we are in *Heaven* almost every day. But a little farther, fifthly, We perform *Family Duties* every day ; We have our Morning and Evening Sacrifices, wherein having read the

‘Scriptures to our Families, we call upon the
‘Name of God, and ever now and then care-
‘fully Catechise those that are under our
‘Charge. Sixthly, We shall also have our
‘daily Devotions in our Closets; wherein,
‘unto Supplication before the Lord, we shall
‘add some serious Meditation upon his
‘Word; a *David* will be at this work no
‘less than thrice a day. Seventhly, We have
‘likewise many scores of Ejaculations in a
‘day; and these we have, like *Nehemiah*, in
‘whatever place we come into. Eighthly,
‘We have our occasional Thoughts, and our
‘occasional Talks upon Spiritual Matters;
‘and we have our occasional Acts of Char-
‘ity, wherein we do like the Inhabitants of
‘Heaven every day. Ninthly, In our Cal-
‘lings, in our Civil Callings, we keep up
‘heavenly Frames; we Buy, and Sell, and
‘Toil, yea, we Eat and Drink, with some
‘Eye both to the *Command*, and the *Honour*
‘of God in all. Behold, I have not now left
‘an inch of time to be Carnal; it is all en-
‘grossed for Heaven. And yet, lest here
‘should not be enough, lastly, We have our
‘Spiritual Warfare. We are always encoun-
‘tring the Enemies of our Souls, which con-
‘tinually raises our hearts unto our *Helper*
‘and *Leader* in the *Heavens*. Let no Man say,
‘*’Tis impossible to live at this rate*; for we have
‘known

known some live thus, and others that have written of such a Life, have but spun a Web out of their own blessed experiences. *New-England* has Examples of this Life; tho, alas, 'tis to be lamented, that the Distractions of the World, in too many Professors, do becloud the beauty of an Heavenly Conversation. In fine, our Employment lies in *Heaven*. In the morning, if we ask, *Where am I to be to day?* Our Souls must answer, *In Heaven*. In the Evening, if we ask, *Where have I been to day?* Our Souls may answer, *In Heaven*. If thou art a Believer, thou art no Stranger to *Heaven* while thou livest; and when thou diest, *Heaven* will be no strange Place to thee; no, thou hast been there a thousand times before.

In this Language have I heard him express himself; and he did what he said, he was a *Boniface*, as well as a *Benedict*; and he was one of those, *Qui faciendo docent, quæ facienda docent*.

It might be said of him, as that Writer characterises *Origen*, *Quemadmodum docuit, sic vixit & quemadmodum vixit sic docuit*.

ARTICLE II.

*His particular Care and Zeal about the
Lords-Day.*

THis was the Piety, this the Holiness of our *Eliot*; but among the many Instances in which his *Holiness* was remarkable, I must not omit his exact Remembrance of the Sabbath-day, to keep it holy.

It has been truly and justly observed, That our whole Religion fares according to our Sabbaths; that poor Sabbaths make poor Christians; and that a Strictness in our Sabbaths inspires a Vigour into all our other Duties. Our *Eliot* knew this, and it was a most Exemplary Zeal that he acknowledged the Sabbath of our Lord Jesus Christ withal. Had he been asked, *Servasti Dominicum?* He could have made a right Christian primitive answer thereunto. The Sun did not set, the Evening before the Sabbath, till he had begun his Preparation for it; and when the Lords-day came, you might have seen *John in the Spirit* every Week. Every day was a sort of Sabbath to him, but the Sabbath-day was a kind, a type, a taste of Heaven with him. He laboured, that he might on this high day have no Words or Thoughts but such

such as were agreeable thereunto; he then allow'd in himself no Actions, but those of a *raised Soul*. One should hear nothing dropping from his Lips on this day, but the Milk and Honey of the Country, in which there yet remains a Rest for the People of God; and if he beheld in any Person whatsoever, whether Old or Young, any Profanation of this day, he would be sure to bestow lively Rebukes upon it. And hence also unto the general Engagements of a Covenant with God, which 'twas his desire to bring the *Indians* into, he added a particular *Article*, wherein they bind themselves *Meb-quontamunat Sabbath, pabketeaunat tohsobke pomantamog, i. e.* To remember the Sabbath-day, to keep it holy, as long as we live.

The mention of this, gives me an opportunity, not only to recommend our Departed *Eliot*, but also to Vindicate another great Man, unto the Churches of our Lord Jesus Christ. The Reverend and Renowned *OWEN* in his Elaborate Exercitations on the *Lords-day*, had let fall such a passage as this.

I judge, That the Observation of the Lords-day is to be Commensurate unto the use of our natural strength on any other day, from Morning to Night. The Lords-day is to be set apart unto the ends of an holy Rest unto God, by every one, according-as
his

his natural strength will enable him to employ himself in his lawful occasions any other day of the Week.

This passage was subject to such a misunderstanding, as that it gave some scandal unto several very Learned and Pious Men; among whom our *Eliot* was one: whereupon with his usual Zeal, Gravity, and Sanctity, he wrote unto the Doctor his Opinion thereabout; who returned unto him an answer full of Respect, some part whereof I shall here transcribe.

‘As to what concerns the *Natural strength of Men* (*saieth he*), Either I was under some mistake in my Expression, or you seem to be so in your Apprehension. I never thought, and I hope I have not said, for I cannot find it, that the continuance of the Sabbath is to be Commensurate unto the natural strength of Man, but only that it is an allowable mean of Mens continuance in Sabbath-Duties; which I suppose you will not deny, lest you should cast the Consciences of Professors into inextricable Difficulties.

‘When first I engaged into that Work, I intended not to have spoken one word about the practical Observation of the Day; but only to have endeavoured the Revival of a Truth which at present is despised and contemned among us, and strenuously opposed

‘posed by sundry Divines of the *United Pro-*
 ‘*vinces*, who call the Doctrine of the Sabbath,
 ‘*Figmentum Anglicanum*. Upon the desire of
 ‘some Learned Men in these Parts, it was,
 ‘that I undertook the Vindication of it.
 ‘Having now discharged the Debt, which
 ‘in this matter I owed unto the Truth and
 ‘Church of God, tho not as I ought, yet
 ‘with such a composition as I hope, thro’ the
 ‘Interposition of our Lord Jesus Christ, might
 ‘find acceptance with God and his Saints, I
 ‘suppose I shall not again engage on that
 ‘Subject.

‘I suppose there is scarce any one alive in
 ‘the World, who hath more *Reproaches* cast
 ‘upon him than I have; tho hitherto God
 ‘has been pleased in some measure to sup-
 ‘port my Spirit under them. I still relieved
 ‘my self by this, That my poor Endeavours
 ‘have found acceptance with the *Churches* of
 ‘Christ: But my Holy, Wise, and Gracious
 ‘Father, sees it needful to try me in this
 ‘matter also; and what I have received from
 ‘you (which it may be contains not your
 ‘sense alone) hath printed deeper, and left
 ‘a greater impression upon my mind, than
 ‘all the virulent Revilings, and false Accu-
 ‘sations I have met withal from my profes-
 ‘sed Adversaries. I do acknowledg unto
 ‘you, that I have a dry and barren Spirit,
 and

‘and I do heartily beg your Prayers, that
‘the Holy One would, notwithstanding all
‘my sinful Provocations, water me from a-
‘bove; but that I should now be apprehend-
‘ed to have given a Wound unto Holiness in
‘the Churches, ’tis one of the *saddest Frowns*
‘in the *Cloudy Brows of Divine Providence*.

‘The Doctrine of the Sabbath, I have as-
‘serted, tho not as it should be done, yet as
‘well as I could: The Observation of it in
‘Holy Duties unto the utmost of the strength
‘for them, which God should be pleased to
‘give us, I have pleaded for; the necessity
‘also of a serious Preparation for it in sundry
‘previous Duties, I have declared. But now
‘to meet with severe Expressions — it may
‘be ’tis the Will of God, that vigour should
‘hereby be given to my former Discourage-
‘ments, and that there is a Call in it, to sur-
‘cease from these kinds of Labours.

I have transcribed the more of this Letter,
because it not only discovers the concern
which our *Eliot* had for the Sabbath of God,
but also it may contribute unto the Worlds
good Reception and Perusal of a *Golden Book*
on that Subject, written by one of the most
Eminent Persons which the *English* Nation
has been adorned with.

ARTICLE III.

His Exemplary Mortification.

THus did *Eliot* endeavour to live unto God; but how much at the same time did he die unto all the World?

'Twere impossible to finish the lively Picture of this Pious and Holy *Eliot*, without some touches upon that Mortification which accompanied him all his days; for never did I see a Person more mortifi'd unto all the pleasures of this Life, or more unwilling to moult the Wings of an Heaven-born Soul, in the dirty Puddles of Carnal and Sensual Delights. We are all of us compounded of those two things, the Man, and the Beast; but so powerful was the Man, in this Holy Person, that it kept the Beast ever ti'd with a short Tedder, and suppressed the irregular Calcitrations of it. He became so nailed unto the Cross of the Lord Jesus Christ, that the Grandeurs of this World were unto him just what they would be to a dying Man; and he maintained an almost unparallel'd indifferency towards all the Pomps which Mankind is too generally flattered and enchanted with.

The

The Lust of the Flesh he could not reconcile himself to the least pampering or indulging of; but he persecuted it with a continual Antipathy; being upon higher Principles than Tully was acquainted withal, of his mind, *Non est dignus nomine nominis, qui unum diem totum velit esse in isto genere voluptatis.* The Sleep that he allowed himself, cheated him not of his Morning-hours; but he reckoned the Morning no less a Friend unto the Graces, than unto the Muses. He would call upon Students, *I pray look to it that you be Morning-Birds!* And for many more than a score of years before he died, he removed his Lodging into his Study, on purpose that being there alone, he might enjoy his early Mornings, without giving the disturbance of the least noise to any of his Friends, whose Affections to him else might have been ready to have called, *Master, spare thy self.* The Meat upon which he lived, was a *Cibus simplex*, an homely, but an wholesome Diet; rich Varieties, costly Viands, and poynant Sawces, came not upon his own Table; and when he found them on other Mens, he rarely tasted of them. One Dish, and a plain one, was his Dinner; and when invited unto a Feast, I have seen him sit magnifying of God for the Plenty which his People in this Wilderness

ness were within a few years arisen to ; but not more than a bit or two of all the Dainties taken into his own Mouth all the while. And for a Supper, he had learned of his Loved and Blessed Patron, old Mr. Cotton, either wholly to omit it, or to make a small sup or two the utmost of it. The Drink which he still used, was very small; he cared not for Wines or Drams ; and I believe he never once in all his Life knew what it was to feel so much as a noxious fume in his head from any of them ; good clear Water was more precious, as well as more usual with him, than any of those Liquors with which Men do so frequently spoil their own Healths, while perhaps they drink those of other Men. When at a Strangers House in the Summer time, he has been entertained with a Glass, which they told him was of *Water and Wine*, he has with a complaisant Gravity replied unto this purpose, *Wine, is a noble, generous Liquor, and we should be humbly thankful for it ; but as I remember, Water was made before it !* So abstemious was he ; and he found, that *Carere suavitatibus*, his Abstinence had more sweetness in it, than any of the sweets which he abstained from ; and so willing he was to have others partake with him in that sweetness, that when he has thought the countenance of

of

of a Minister has look'd , as if he had made much of himself, he has gone to him with that Speech , *Study Mortification* , Brother ! *Study Mortification* ! And he made all his Addresses with a becoming Majesty.

The *Lust of the Eye* , was put out by him in such a manner, that it was in a manner all one with him to be Rich or Poor. It could not be said of him, That *he sought great things for himself* ; but what Estate he became owner of, was from the Blessing of God upon the Husbandry and Industry of some in his Family, rather than from any endeavours of his own. Once when there stood several *Kine* of his own before his Door, his Wife to try him, asked him, *Whose they were ?* And she found that he knew nothing of them. He could not endure to plunge himself into Secular Designs and Affairs , but accounted *Sacerdos in foro* as worthy of Castigation, as *Mercator in Templo* ; he thought that Minister and Market-man were not *Unisons* ; and that the Earth was no place for *Aaron's Holy Mitre* to be laid upon. It was the Usage of most Towns in the Country, to have an Annual Rate for the maintenance of the Ministry, adjusted commonly by the Select-men of the Towns ; which tho it raised not any exuberant Salaries for the Ministers , who also seldom received all that the People had contracted

tracted for; nevertheless in many places it prevented sore Temptations from befalling those that were labouring in the Word and Doctrine; who must else often have experienced the Truth of *Luther's* Observation, *Duriter profecto & misere viverunt Evangelii Ministri, si ex Libera populi contributione essent sustentandi.* However, for his part, he propounded that what Stipend he had, should be raised by Contribution; and from the same Temper it was, that a few Years before his Dissolution, being left without an Assistant in his Ministry, he pressed his Congregation to furnish themselves with another Pastor; and in his Application to them, he told them, *'Tis possible you may think the burden of maintaining two Ministers may be too heavy for you; but I'll deliver you from that fear; I do here give back my Salary to the Lord Jesus Christ; and now, Brethren, you may fix that upon any man that God shall make a Pastor for you.* But his Church with an handsom reply, assured him, That they would count his very Presence worth a Salary, when he should be so superannuated as to do no further Service for them.

And as for the *Pride of Life*, the Life of it was most Exemplarily extinguish'd in him. The Humility of his Heart made him *Higher by the Head than the rest of the People.* His Habit
and

and Spirit were both such as declared him to be among the Lowly, whom God has most Respect unto. His Apparel was without any Ornament, except that of Humility, which the Apostle Elegantly compares to a Knot of comely Ribbons, in the Text where he bids us to be Cloathed with it; any other flanting Ribbons on those that came in his way, he would ingeniously animadvert upon; and seeing some Scholars once, he thought, a little too gaudy in their Cloaths, *Humiliamini, Juvenes, Humiliamini*, was his immediate Complement unto them. Had you seen him with his *Leathern Girdle* (for such a one he wore) *about his Loins*, you would almost have thought what *Herod* fear'd, *That John Baptist was come to Life again*. In short, he was in all regards, *A Nazarite indeed*; unless in this one, that long Hair was always very loathsome to him; he was an acute *Ramist*; but yet he professed himself a Lover of a *Trichocomy*. Doubtless, it may be lawful for us to accommodate the length of our Hair to the modest Customs which vary in the Churches of God: and it may be lawful for them that have not enough of their own Hair for their own Health, to supply themselves according to the sober Modes of the Places where they live. But the Apostle tells us, *Nature teaches us, that if a Man have long Hair,*
'tis

'tis a shame to him; where, by Nature can be meant, no other than, *The difference of Sex*; as the word else-where is used.

Thus Mr. *Eliot* thought, that for Men to wear their Hair with a luxurious, delicate, foemine Prolixity; or for them to preserve no plain Distinction of their Sex, by the Hair of their Head and Face; and much more, for Men thus to disfigure themselves with Hair that is none of their own; and most of all, for Ministers of the Gospel to tuffle it in Excesses of this kind, may prove more than we are well aware displeasing to the *Holy Spirit* of God. I know not whether that horrible Distemper prevailing in some *European* Countries, known by the Name of *Plica Polonica*, wherein the Hair of People matted into ugly and filthy Forms, like Snakes upon their Heads, which whoever cut off, presently fell Blind or Mad; say, I know not whether this Disease was more odious in it self, than the sweeter, neater, but prolux Locks of many People were to our *Eliot*. He was indeed one *priscis moribus*, as well as *Antiqua sine*; and he might be allowed somewhat even of severity in this matter on that account.

My Reader shall have a touch or two, from a Manuscript of his, which I have in my hands, against (as he calls it) *The violent*
and

and insuperable Lust of long Hair. He thus argues.

'Tis a Sin for a Man to do that whereof
'he hath cause to be ashamed. *Prov.* 14. 24.
'*Rom.* 6. 21.

'But it is a shame for a Man to wear long
'Hair, *1 Cor.* 11. 14. Therefore 'tis a Sin.

'*Obj.* It was then so; but now 'tis a Fashion and Glory to do otherwise.

'*Ans.* Nature is the same now as then,
'Unchangeable. It speaks as loud now as it
'did then; only *our Ears are so covered with*
'*Locks, that we cannot hear it.*

'Again, Long Hair on the Head, and no
'Hair on the Face, is the Habit of a Woman,
'*1 Cor.* 11. 16. But it is a sinful *Abomination*
'for a Man to wear the Habit of a Woman.
'*Deut.* 22. 5.

'Therefore 'tis a sinful Abomination for a
'Man to wear long Hair on his Head, and
'no Hair on his Face.

With these, and many other such Persuasions did he endeavour to obviate the *Luxury* which he saw the Times degenerating apace into; and he added hereunto his own Example, as a continual and effectual Sermon against what he thought was to be condemned in the World.

ARTICLE IV.

His Exquisite Charity.

HE that will write of *Eliot*, must write of Charity, or say nothing. His Charity was a Star of the first Magnitude in the bright Constellation of his Virtues; and the Rays of it were wonderfully various and extensive.

His Liberality to pious Uses, whether publick or private, went much beyond the Proportions of his little Estate in the World. Many hundreds of Pounds did he freely bestow upon the Poor; and he would with a very forcible importunity press his Neighbours to joyn with him in such Beneficences. 'Twas a marvellous Alacrity with which he embraced all opportunities of Relieving any that were miserable: And the good People of *Roxbury* doubtless cannot remember (but the Righteous God will) how often, and with what Ardors, with what Arguments, he became a Beggar to them for Collections in their Assemblies, to support such needy Objects as had fallen under his Observation. The Poor counted him their Father, and repaired still unto him, with a filial Confidence in their Necessities; and they were

were more than seven or eight, or indeed, than so many scores, who received their Portions of his Bounty. Like that Worthy and Famous *English* General, he could not persuade himself, *That he had any thing but what he gave away*; but he drove a mighty Trade at such Exercises at he thought would furnish him with Bills of Exchange, which he hoped after many days to find the comfort of; and yet after all, he would say, like one of the most Charitable Souls that ever lived in the World, *That looking over his Accounts, he could no where find the God of Heaven charged a Debtor there*. He did not put off his Charity, to be put in his Last Will, as many who therein shew that their Charity is against their will; but he was his own Administrator; he made his own Hands his Executors, and his own Eyes his Overseers. It has been Remark'd, That Liberal men are often Long-liv'd men; so do they after many days find the Bread with which they have been willing to keep other Men alive. The great Age of our *Eliot* was but agreeable to this Remark; and when his Age had unfitted him for almost all Employments, and bereaved him of those Gifts and Parts which once he had been Accomplished with, being asked, *How he did?* He would sometimes

times answer, *Alas, I have lost every thing; my Understanding leaves me, my Memory fails me, my Utterance fails me; but I thank God my Charity holds out still; I find that rather grows than fails!* And I make no question, That at his Death, his happy Soul was received and welcomed into the Everlasting Habitations, by many scores got thither before him, of such as his Charity had been liberal unto,

But besides these more substantial Expressions of his Charity, he made the Odours of that Grace yet more fragrant unto all that were about him, by that Pitifulness, and that Peacefulness, which rendred him yet further Amiable. If any of his Neighbourhood were in distress, he was like a Brother born for their Adversity, he would visit them, and comfort them with a most Fraternal Sympathy; yea, 'tis not easy to recount how many whole days of Prayer with fasting he has got his Neighbours to keep with him, on the behalf of those whose Calamities he found himself touched with. It was an extreme satisfaction to him, that his Wife had attained unto a considerable skill in Physick and Chyrurgery, which enabled her to dispense many safe, good, and useful Medicines unto the Poor that had occasion for them, and some hundred

dreds of Sick, and Weak, and Maimed People owed praises to God for the Benefit which therein they freely received of her. The good Gentleman, her Husband, would still be casting Oyl into the Flame of that Charity, wherein she was of her own accord abundantly forward thus to be *doing of good unto all*; and he would urge her to be serviceable unto the worst Enemies that he had in the World. Never had any Man fewer Enemies than he! But once having delivered something in his Ministry which displeased one of his Hearers, the Man did passionately abuse him for it, and this both with Speeches and with Writings that reviled him. Yet it happening not long after, that this man gave himself a very dangerous Wound; Mr. *Eliot* immediately sends his Wife to cure him; who did accordingly. When the man was well, he came to thank her; but she took no Rewards; and this good man made him stay and eat with him, taking no notice of all the Calumnies with which he had loaded him; but by this carriage he strangely mollified and conquered the Stomach of his Reviler.

He was also a great Enemy to all Contention, and would ring a loud *Courfeu-Bell* wherever he saw the Fires of Animosity.

When

When he heard any Ministers complain, that such and such in their Flocks were too difficult for them, the strain of his Answer still was, *Brother, Compass them!* and *Brother, learn the meaning of those three little words, Bear, Forbear, Forgive.* Yea, his inclinations for Peace, indeed, sometimes almost made him to sacrifice *Right* it self. When there was laid before an Assembly of Ministers, a bundle of Papers which contained certain Matters of Difference and Contention between some People, which our *Eliot* thought should rather unite, with an *Amnesty* upon all their former Quarrels, he (with some imitation of what *Constantine* did upon the like occasion) hastily threw the Papers into the Fire before them all, and with a Zeal for Peace, as hot as that Fire, said immediately, *Brethren, wonder not at what I have done, I did it on my Knees this Morning before I came among you.* Such an excess (if it were one) flow'd from his charitable Inclinations, to be found among those Peace-makers, which by following the Example of that Man who is our Peace, come to be called, *The Children of God.* Very worthily might he be called an *Irenæus*, as being all for Peace; and the Commendation which *Epiphanius* gives unto the Ancient of that Name, did belong unto our

Eliot; he was a *most Blessed and a most Holy Man*. He disliked all sorts of Bravery; but yet with an ingenious Note upon the Greek word in *Col. 3. 15.* he propounded, *That peace might brave it among us.* In short, wherever he came, he was like another old *John*, with solemn and earnest persuasives to Love; and when he could say little else, he would give that Charge, *My Children, love one another!*

Finally, 'twas his Charity which disposed him to continual Appreciations for, and Benedictions on those that he met withal; he had an heart full of good Wishes, and a mouth full of kind Blessings for them. And he often made his Expressions very wittily, agreeable to the Circumstances which he saw the Persons in. Sometimes when he came into a Family, he would call for all the young People in it, that so he might very distinctly lay his holy Hands upon every one of them, and bespeak the Mercies of Heaven for them all.

ARTICLE V.

Some special Attainments, that were the Effects of his Piety and Charity.

BUT what was the Effect of this Exemplary Piety and Charity in our Eliot? It will be no wonder, to my Reader, if I tell him, That this good man *walked in the light of God's Countenance all the day long*. I believe he had a continual assurance of the Divine Love, marvellously Sealing, Strengthening, and Refreshing of him, for many Lustrres of Years before he dy'd; and for this cause the fear of Death was extirpated out of his Heavenly Soul, more than out of most men alive. Had our Blessed Jesus at any time sent his Waggons to fetch this old *Jacob* away, he would have gone without the least Reluctancies. Labouring once under a Fever and Ague, a Visitant asked him *how he did?* And he replied, *Very well, but anon I expect a paroxysm*. Said the Visitant, *Sir, fear not;* but unto that he answered, *Fear! No, no, I been't afraid, I thank God, I been't afraid to dye!* Dying would not have been any more to him, than Sleeping to a weary man.

And another Excellency, which accompanied this Courage and Comfort in him,

was, *A wonderful resignation to the Will of God in all Events.* There were sore Afflictions that sometimes beset him, especially when he followed some of his hopeful and worthy Sons, two or three desirable Preachers of the Gospel, to their Graves. But he sacrificed them, like another *Abraham*, with such a sacred indifferency, as made all the Spectators to say, *This could not be done without the Fear of God.* Yea, he bore all his Trials with an admirable patience; and seemed loth to have any will of his own, that should not be wholly melted and moulded into the Will of his Heavenly Father. Once being in a Boat at Sea, a larger Vessel unhappily over-run, and over-set that little one, which had no small concerns, because *Eliot's*, in the bottom of it; immediately sunk without any expectation of ever going to Heaven any other way; and when he imagined that he had but one breath more to draw in the World, it was this, *The Will of the Lord be done!* But it was *the will of the Lord* that he should survive the danger, for he was rescued by the help that was then at hand; and he that had long been like *Moses* in every thing else, was now *drawn out of the Waters*: Which gives me opportunity to mention one Remarkable that had some relation hereunto. This accident happened in the time of

our *Indian Wars*, when some furious *English* People that clamoured for the Extirpation of the *Praying Indians*, which were in Subjection unto us, as well as the *Pagan Indians* that were in Hostility against us, vented a very wicked Rage at our holy *Eliot*, because of his concernment for the *Indians*; and one profane Monster hearing how narrowly Mr. *Eliot* escap'd from drowning, wish'd (as I am credibly informed) that this Man of God had been drowned. But within a few days, that woful man by a strange disaster was drowned in that very place, where Mr. *Eliot* had received his Deliverance.

There was indeed a certain health of Soul which he arriv'd unto; and he kept in a blessed measure clear of those Distempers which too often disorder the most of men. But the God of Heaven favoured him with something that was yet more extraordinary! By getting and keeping near to God, and by dwelling under the shadow of the Almighty, he contracted a more exquisite sense of mind, than what is usual among other Professors of Christianity; he sometimes felt a lively touch of God upon his refined and exalted Spirit, which were not in any Paper of ours lawful or easy to be uttered; and he was admitted unto a singular Familiarity with the *Holy One of Israel*. Hence 'twas,

that as Bodies of a rare and fine Constitution will fore-bode the changes of the Weather ; so the sublimed Soul of our *Eliot* often had strange fore-bodings of things that were to come. I have been astonished at some of his Predictions, that were both of a more personal, and of a more general Application, and were follow'd with exact Accomplishments. If he said of any Affair, *I cannot bless it !* it was a worse Omen to it than the most inauspicious Presages in the World ; but sometimes, after he had been with God about a thing, he was able successfully to foretel, *I have set a mark upon it, it will do well !* I shall never forget, That when *England* and *Holland* were plunged into the unhappy War, which the more sensible Protestants every where had but sorrowful Apprehensions of, our *Eliot* being in the height and heat of the War, privately asked, *What News we might look for next ?* Answered, unto the surprize of the Enquirer, *Our next News will be, a Peace between the two Protestant Nations ; God knows, I pray for it every Day ; and I am verily perswaded we shall hear of it speedily !* and it came to pass accordingly.

It is to be confessed, That the written Word of God is to be regarded as the perfect and only Rule of our Lives ; that in all Articles of Religion, if Men *speak not according*

ing to this word, there is no light in them; and that it is no warrantable or convenient thing for Christians to look for such Inspirations as directed the Prophets that were the Penmen of the Scriptures. Nevertheless, there are some uncommon Instances of Communion and Fruition, which in our days the Sovereign God here and there favours a good Man withal; and they are very Heavenly Persons, Persons well purifi'd from the *Fæculencies* of Sensuality, and Persons better purged from the Leaven of Envy and Malice, and intollerable Pride, than usually those vain pretenders to Revelations, the *Quakers* are, that are made partakers of these Divine Dainties. Now such a one was our *Eliot*; and for this, *worthy to be had in everlasting Remembrance.*

It would not be improper, under this File, to lodge the singular and surprizing Successes of his Prayers! for they were such, that in our Distresses we still repair'd unto him, under that encouragement, *He is a Prophet, and he shall pray for thee, and thou shalt live.* I shall single out but one, from the many that might be mentioned: There was a godly Gentleman of *Charlstown*, one Mr. *Foster*, who, with his Son, was taken Captive by *Turkish* Enemies: Much Prayer was made, both privately and publickly, by the good

People here, for the Redemption of that Gentleman; but we were at last informed, that the Bloody Prince, in whose Dominions he was now a Slave, was resolved that in his Life-time no Prisoner should be released; and so the distressed Friends of this Prisoner, now concluded, *Our Hope is lost!* Well, upon this, Mr. Eliot in some of his next Prayers, before a very solemn Congregation, very broadly begg'd, *Heavenly Father, work for the Redemption of thy poor Servant Foster; and if the Prince which detains him will not, as they say, dismiss him as long as himself lives, Lord, we pray thee to kill that cruel Prince; kill him, and glorify thy self upon him.* And now, behold the answer: The poor captivated Gentleman quickly returns to us that had been Mourning for him as a lost Man, and brings us News, that the Prince which had hitherto held him, was come to an untimely Death, by which means he was now set at Liberty. Thus we now know, *That a Prophet has been among us!*

PART II.

Or, Eliot as a Minister.

ARTICLE I.

His Ministerial Accomplishments.

THE Grace of God, which we have seen so Illustriously Endowing and Adorning of our *Eliot*, as well qualify'd him for, as dispos'd him to the Employment wherein he spent about Six Decads of his Years; which was, *The Service of the Lord Jesus Christ, in the Ministry of the Gospel*. This was the Work to which he appli'd himself; and he undertook it, I believe, with as right Thoughts of it, and as good Ends in it, as ever any Man in our days was acted with. He look'd upon the Conduct of a Church, as a thing no less Dangerous than Important, and attended with so many Difficulties, Temptations, and Humiliations, as that nothing but a Call from the Son of God, could have encouraged him unto the Susception of it. He saw that Flesh and
Blood

Blood would find it no very pleasant thing to be oblig'd unto the over-sight of a number, that by a solemn Covenant should be list'd among the Voluntiers of the Lord Jesus Christ; that it was no easy thing to feed the Souls of such a People, and of the Children, and the Neighbours, which were to be brought into the same Sheepfold with them; to bear their manners with all patience, not being by any of their Infirmities discouraged from Teaching of them, and from Watching and Praying over them; to value them highly as *the Flock which God has purchased with his own Blood*, notwithstanding all their miscarriages; and in all to examine the *Rule of Scripture* for the warrant of whatever shall be done; and to remember the Day of Judgment, wherein an account must be given of all that has been done; having in the mean time no expectation of the Riches and Grandeurs which accompany a worldly Domination. It was herewithal his Opinion, *That* (as the Great *Owen* expresses it) *notwithstanding all the Countenance that is given to any Church by the Publick Ministry, yet whilst we are in this World, those who will faithfully discharge their Duty, as Ministers of the Gospel, shall have need to be prepared for Sufferings*; and it was in a sense of these things that he gave himself up to the Sacred Ministry.

Ministry. A stranger to Regeneration can be but poorly accomplished for such a Ministry; and however God may prosper the Sermons of such a Man for the advantage of his Church: However the building of the Ark may be help'd on by such Carpenters as perish in the Flood, and the *Tyrians* may do some work about the Temple, who arrive to no Worship in the Inner-Courts thereof; and as *Austin* expressed it, a Stone-cutter may convey Water into a Garden, without having himself any advantage of it; nevertheless, the un sanctifi'd Minister, how gifted, how able soever he may be, must have it still said unto him, *Thou lackest one thing!* and that *one thing* our *Eliot* had. But the *one thing* was not *all!* as, indeed, it would not have been *enough*. God furnished him with a good measure of Learning too, which made him capable to *divide the Word aright*. He was a most acute *Grammarian*; and understood very well the Languages which God first wrote his Holy Bible in. He had a sharp insight into all the other Liberal Arts, and made little Systems of them for the use of certain *Indians*, whose exacter Education he was desirous of. But, above all, he had a most Eminent Skill in *Theology*; and that which profane Scoffers reproach'd as the disgrace of the blessed *Alting*, all of whose

whose Works always weigh down the purest Gold, was the honour of our *Eliot*, namely, to be *Scripturarius Theologus*, or, one mighty in the *Word*; which enabled him to convince Gainsayers, and on all occasions to show himself a thorough Divine, and a Workman that needed not be ashamed.

In short, he came like another *Bazaleel*, or *Aholiab*, unto the Service of the Tabernacle. And from one particularity in that part of his Learning which lay in the Affairs of the Tabernacle, it was, that in a little Book of his, we have those Lines, which for a certain cause I now transcribe: *Oh that the Lord would put it* (says he) *into the heart of some of his Religious and Learned Servants, to take such pains about the Hebrew Language, as to fit it for universal use!* Considering, that above all Languages spoken by the Lip of Man, it is most capable to be enlarged, and fitted to express all Things, and Motions, and Notions, that our Humane Intellect is capable of in this Mortal Life; considering also, that it is the Invention of God himself; and what one is fitter to be the Universal Language, than that which it pleased our Lord *Jesus* to make use of, when he spake from Heaven unto *Paul*?

ARTICLE II.

His Family-Government.

THE Apostle *Paul*, reciting and requiring the Qualifications of a Gospel Minister, gives order, *That he be the Husband of one Wife, and one that ruleth well his own house, having his Children in subjection with all gravity.* It seems that a man's carriage in his own House is a part, or at least a sign of his due Deportment in the House of God; and then, I am sure, our *Eliot's* was very Exemplary. That *one Wife*, which was given to him truly from the Lord, he loved, prized, cherished, with a Kindness that notably represented the Compassion which he (thereby) taught his Church to expect from the Lord Jesus Christ; and after he had lived with her for more than half an hundred years, he followed her to the Grave, with Lamentations beyond those which the *Jews* from the Figure of a Letter in the Text affirm, that *Abraham* deplored his aged *Sarah* with; her departure made a deeper Impression upon him, than what any common Affliction could. His whole Conversation with her had that sweetness, and that gravity and modesty beautifying of it, that every one called them *Zachary* and *Elizabeth*.

Elizabeth. His Family was a little *Bethel*, for the Worship of God constantly and exactly maintained in it ; and unto the daily Prayers of the Family, his manner was to prefix the reading of the Scripture ; which being done, 'twas also his manner to make his young People to chuse a certain passage in the Chapter, and give him some Observations of their own upon it. By this method he did mightily sharpen and improve, as well as try their Understandings, and endeavour to make them *wise unto Salvation*. He was likewise very strict in the Education of his Children, and more careful to mend any Error in their Hearts and Lives, than he could have been to cure a blemish in their Bodies. No Exorbitancies or Extravagancies could find a room under his Roof ; nor was his House any other than a *School of Piety* ; one might have there seen a perpetual mixture of a *Spartan* and a *Christian* Discipline. Whatever decay there might be upon *Family-Religion* among us, as for our *Eliot*, we knew him, that he would command his Children, and his Household after him, that they should keep the way of the Lord.

ARTICLE III.

His way of Preaching.

SUCH was he in his lesser Family! and in his greater Family he manifested still more of his regards to the Rule of a Gospel-Ministry. To his Congregation, he was a Preacher that made it his care to *give every one their Meat in due season*. It was Food and not Froth, which in his Publick Sermons he entertained the Souls of his People with; he did not starve them with empty and windy Speculations, or with such things as *Animum non dant, quia non habent*. His way of Preaching was very plain, so that the very Lambs might wade into his Discourses on those Texts and Themes wherein Elephants might swim; and herewithal it was very powerful, his Delivery was always very graceful and grateful; but when he was to use Reproofs and Warnings against any Sin, his Voice would rise into a warmth which had in it very much of Energy as well as Decency; he would brandish the Swords, and sound the Trumpets of God against all Vice, with a most penetrating Liveliness, and make his Pulpit another Mount *Sinai*, for the flashes of Lightning therein displai'd against the breaches of the Law given upon that
burning

burning Mountain. And, I observed, that there was usually a special fervour in the Rebukes which he bestow'd upon Carnality, a carnal Frame and Life in Professors of Religion; when he was to brand the Earthly-mindedness of Church-Members, and the Allowance and the Indulgence which they often gave unto themselves in sensual Delights, here he was a right *Boanerges*; he then spoke, as 'twas said one of the Ancients did, *Quot verba tot Fulmina*, as many Thunderbolts as Words.

It was another property of his Preaching, that there was evermore much of Christ in it; and with *Paul* he could say, *I determined to know nothing but Jesus Christ*; having that Blessed Name in his Discourses, with a frequency like that with which *Paul* mentions it in his *Epistles*. As 'twas noted of *Dr. Bodly*, that whatever Subject he were upon in the Application, still his Use of it would be *to drive Men unto the Lord Jesus Christ*; in like manner, the Lord Jesus Christ was the Loadstone which gave a touch to all the Sermons of our *Eliot*; a glorious, precious, lovely *Christ* was the point of Heaven which they still verged unto: From this Inclination it was, that altho he printed several *English Books* before he dy'd, yet his Heart seemed not so much in any of them, as in that serious and savoury Book of his Intituled, *The Harmony of the Gospels*,

pels, in the Holy History of Jesus Christ. From hence also 'twas that he would give that Advice to young Preachers, *Pray let there be much of Christ in your Ministry*; and when he had heard a Sermon which had any special relish of a blessed Jesus in it, he would say thereupon, *O blessed be God, that we have Christ so much, and so well preached in poor New-England!*

Moreover, he lik'd no Preaching but what had been well-studied for; and he would very much commend a Sermon which he could perceive had required some good *Thinking* and *Reading* in the Author of it. I have been present when he has unto a Preacher then just come home from the Assembly with him, thus expressed himself, *Brother, there was Oyl required for the Service of the Sanctuary; but it must be beaten Oyl; I praise God that I saw your Oyl so well beatenn to day; the Lord help us always by good study to beat our Oyl, that there may be no knots in our Sermons left undissolved, and that there may a clear light be thereby given in the House of God!* And yet he likewise look'd for something in a Sermon beside and beyond the meer Study of Man; he was for having the *Spirit of God* breathing in it, and with it; and he was for speaking those things from those Impressions, and with those Affections, which might compel the Hearer to say, *The Spirit of God was here!* I have heard him complain,
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It is a sad thing when a Sermon shall have that one thing, the Spirit of God, wanting in it.

ARTICLE IV.

His Cares about the Children of his People.

BUT he remembered that he had Lambs in his Flock, and like another *David* he could not endure to see the Lion seize upon any of them. He always had a mighty concern upon his mind for little Children; 'twas an affectionate stroke in one of the little Papers which he published for them, *Sure Christ is not willing to lose his Lambs*; and I have cause to remember with what an hearty, fervent, zealous Application he address'd himself, when in the Name of the Neighbour Pastors and Churches he gave me *the right hand of Fellowship at my Ordination*, and said, *Brother, Art thou a lover of the Lord Jesus Christ? Then, I pray, Feed his Lambs.*

One thing whereof he was very desirous for poor Children, was the Covenanting of them; he was very solicitous that the Lambs might pass under the Lord's Tything Rod, and be brought under *the Bond of the Covenant*. He very openly and earnestly maintained the Cause of *Infant-Baptism*, against a sort of
Persons

Persons risen since the *Reformation*, (among which indeed there are many Godly Men, that were dear to the Soul of our *Eliot*) who forget that in the Gospel Church-State, as well as in the *Jewish*, the Promise is to Believers and their Children; and are unwilling to reckon Children among the Disciples of Jesus Christ, or to grant, *That of such is the Kingdom of Heaven*: or to know, That the most undoubted Records of Antiquity affirm *Infant-Baptism* to have been an usage in all the Primitive Churches: That even before the early days of *Nazianzen*, *Chrysostom*, *Basil*, *Athanasius*, *Epiphanius* in the Greek, and *Ambrose*, *Jerom*, *Austin* in the Latin Church, all of which give glorious Testimonies for *Infant-Baptism*; even *Cyprian*, before these, assures us, that in his days there was no doubt of it; and *Origen* before him could say, *'Twas from the Apostles that the Church took up the Baptism of Infants*; and *Clemens Romanus* before him could say, *That Children should be Recipients of the Discipline of Christ*; besides what plain evidence we have in *Irenæus* and *Justin Martyr*; and that the very Arguments with which some of the Ancients did superstitiously advise the delay of *Baptism*, do at the same time confess the *Divine Right of Infants* in it. Our *Eliot* could by no means look upon the *Infants* of Godly Men as unholy, and Unbelievers, and

and unfit Subjects to have upon them a *Mark* of Dedication to the Lord.

Wherefore, when there was brought among us a Book of pious Mr. Norcot's, whereby some became Disposed to, or Confirmed in a prejudice against *Pædo-Baptism*, it was not long before Mr. Eliot published a little Answer thereunto; the first Lines whereof presently discover what a Temper he writ it with; says he, *The Book speaks with the Voice of the Lamb, and I think the Author is a Godly, tho' Erring Brother; but he acts the cause of a roaring Lion, who by all crafty ways seeketh to devour the poor Lambs of the Flock of Christ.* And so he goes on to plead the Cause of them that cannot speak for themselves. No man could entertain a Person of a different persuasion from himself, with more sweetness and kindness than he, when he saw *Aliquid Christi*, or the Fear of God prevailing in them; he could uphold a most intimate Correspondence with such a man as Mr. Jeffey, as long as he lived; and yet he knew how to be an *Hammer* upon their unhappy Errors.

But having once Baptized the Children of his Covenanting Neighbours, he did not as too many Ministers do, think that he had now done with them. No, another thing wherein he was very laborious for poor Children was, the Catechising of them; he

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kept up the great Ordinance of *Catechising*, both publickly and privately, and spent in it a world of time. About the end of the *Second Century*, before there had in the least begun to start up *new Officers* in the Church of God, we find that there were Persons called unto the Office of *Publick Teaching*, who were not Pastors, not Rulers, nor called unto the Administration of other Ordinances; those in the Church of *Alexandria*, were of a special Remark and Renown for their Abilities this way; and their Employment was to Explain and to Defend the Principles of the Christian Religion, unto all with whom they could be concerned. Here was the Catechist, with reference unto whom the Apostle says, *Let the Catechised communicate unto him in all good things*. Now, tho some think, a Teacher, purely as such, hath no Right unto further Church Administrations, any more than the Rabbies and Doctors among the *Jews*, had to offer *Sacrifices in the Temple*; yet he who is called to be a *Teacher*, may at the same time also be called to be an *Elder*; and being now a Teaching Elder, he becomes interested in the whole Government of the Church, he has the power of all Sacred Administrations. 'Tis the latter and more compleat and perfect Character, which the Churches of *New-England* have stil acknowledged

knowledged in their Teachers ; and such a Teaching-Elder did our *Eliot* remember himself to be. He thought himself under a particular Obligation to be that Officer, which the Apostle calls in 1 Cor. 4. 15. *An Instructor of the young* ; nor was he ashamed, any more than some of the worthiest Men among the Ancients were, to be called, A Catechist. He would observe upon *John* 21. 15. That, *the care of the Lambs is one third part of the charge over the Church of God*. It would be incredible, if I should relate what pains he took to keep up the blessed Eccho's of Truth between himself, and the young People of his Congregation ; and what prudence he used, in suiting of his Catechisms to the age and strength of his little Catechumens. But one thing I must observe, which is, that altho there may be, (as one has computed) no less than five hundred Catechisms extant ; yet Mr. *Eliot* gave himself the Travel of adding to their number, by composing of some further Catechisms, which were more particularly designed as an Antidote for his own People, against the Contagion of such Errors as might threaten any peculiar danger to them. And the effect and success of this Catechising, bore proportion to the indefatigable Industry with which he prosecuted it ; it is a *well-principled People* that

that he has left behind him. As when certain Jesuits were sent among the *Waldenses* to corrupt their Children, they returned with much Disappointment and Confusion, because the Children of seven years old, were well-principled enough to encounter the most Learned of them all; so, if any Seducers were let loose to wolve it among the good People of *Roxbury*, I am confident, they would find as little Prey in that well-instructed Place, as in any part of all the Country; no Civil Penalties would signify so much to save any People from the Snares of busy Hereticks, as the unwearied Catechizing of one *Eliot* has done to preserve his People from the gangreen of ill Opinions.

There is a third Instance of his Regards to the welfare of the poor Children under his charge; and that is, his perpetual Resolution and Activity to support a good School in the Town that belong'd unto him. A Grammar-School he would always have upon the place whatever it cost him; and he importun'd all other Places to have the like. I can't forget the Ardour with which I once heard him pray in a Synod of these Churches, which met at *Boston*, to consider, *How the miscarriages which were among us might be prevented*; I say, with what fervor he uttered an Expression to this purpose; *Lord, for Schools every where among*

us ! That our Schools may flourish ! That every Member of this Assembly, may go home and procure a good School to be encouraged in the Town where he lives ! that before we dye, we may be so happy as to see a good School encouraged in every Plantation of the Country. God so blessed his endeavours, that Roxbury could not live quietly without a Free-School in the Town ; and the issue of it has been one thing, which has made me almost put the Title of *Schola Illustris* up- that little Nursery ; that is, That Roxbury has afforded more Scholars, first for the College, and then for the Publick, than any Town of its bigness ; or, if I mistake not, of twice its bigness in all *New England*. From the Spring of the School at Roxbury, there have run a large number of the *Streams*, which have made glad this whole City of God. I persuade my self, that the good People of Roxbury will for ever scorn to begrutch the Cost, or to permit the Death of a School which God has made such an Honour to them ; and this the rather, because their deceased *Eliot* has left them a fair part of his own Estate for the maintaining of the School in Roxbury ; and I hope, or at least, I wish, that the Ministers of *New-England* may be as ungainstayably importunate with their People, as Mr. *Eliot* was with his, for Schools, which may seasonably tinge the young Souls of the

Rising

Rising Generation. A want of Education for them, is the blackest and saddest of all the bad Omens that are upon us.

ARTICLE V.

His Church-Discipline.

IT yet more Endears unto us the Memory of our *Eliot*, that he was not only an Evangelical Minister, but also a true *New-Englisk* one; he was a Protestant, and a Puritan, and one very full of that Spirit which acted the first Planters of this Country, in their peaceable Secession from the unwarrantable things elsewhere impos'd upon their Consciences. The Judgment and Practice of one that readily underwent all the misery attending the Infancy of this Plantation, for the sake of a true Church-order, is a thing which we young People should count worthy to be enquired after; and since we saw him so well *behaving himself in the House of God*, it cannot but be worth while to know what he thought about the Frame, and Form, and Constitution of that blessed House.

It was his as well as his Master, the great *Ramus's* Principle, *That in the Reformation of*
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Churches

Churches to be now endeavoured, things ought to be reduced unto the Order wherein we find them at their Primitive, Original, Apostolical Institution. And in pursuance of this Principle, he justly espoused that way of Church Government which we call the Congregational; he was fully perswaded, that the Church-State which our Lord Christ hath instituted in the New Testament, is, In a Congregation or Society of Professed Believers, Agreeing and Assembling together, among themselves, with Officers of Divine Appointment, for the Celebration of Evangelical Ordinances, and their own mutual Edification: For he saw it must be a cruel hardship used upon the Scriptures, to make them so much as Lips the least intimation of any other Church-State prescribed unto us; and he could assert, That no Approved Writers, for the space of two hundred years after Christ, make any mention of any other Original, Visible, Professing Church, but that only which is Congregational. He look'd upon the Congregational way as a Largess of Divine Bounty bestow'd by the Lord Jesus on his People, that follow'd him into this Wilderness, with a peculiar zeal for Communion with him, in his pure Worship here. He perceived in it a sweet sort of Temperament, between Rigid Presbyterianism, and Levelling Brownism: So that on the one side, the Liberties of the People are not oppressed
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and overlaid ; on the other side, the Authority of the Elders is not rendred insignificant, but a due *Ballance* is herein kept upon them both ; and hence he closed with our *platform of Church-Discipline*, as being the nearest of what he had yet seen, to the *Pattern in the Mount*.

He could not comprehend ; that this *Church State* can arise from any other Formal cause, but the Consent, Concurrence, Confederation of those concerned in it ; he looked upon a Relation unto a Church. as not a Natural, or a Violent, but a Voluntary thing, and so that it is to be entred no otherwise, than by an Holy Covenant, or, as the Scripture speaks, by *giving our selves first unto the Lord, and then one unto another*. He could not think that Baptism alone was to be accounted the Cause, but rather the Effect of Church-Membership ; inas-much as upon the Dissolution of the Church to which a man belongs, his Baptism would not become a Nullity : nor that meer Profession would render men Members of this or that Church ; for then it would be impossible to cut off a corrupt Member from that Body Politick : Nor that meer Cohabitation would make Church-Members ; for then the vilest Infidels would be actually incorporated with us. And a Covenant, was all that he now saw remaining in the Inventory.

But for the Subjects to be admitted by Churches unto all the Priviledges of this Fellowship with them, he thought they ought to be such as a trying Charity, or a charitable Tryal, should pronounce *Regenerate*. He found the first Churches of the Gospel mentioned in the Scripture, to be Churches of Saints; and that the Apostles writing to them, still acknowledged them to be *Holy Brethren*, and such as were made meet for to be partakers of the *Inheritance of the Saints in Light*; and that a main end of Church-Fellowship, is to represent unto the World, the Qualifications of those that shall *Ascend into the Hill of the Lord, and Stand in his Holy Place for ever*. He would therefore have, *Bona Mens*, and *Purum Pectus*, and *Vita Innocens*, required, as *Lactantius* tell us, they were in his Days, of all Communicants at the Table of the Lord; and with Holy *Chrysostom*, he would sooner have given his *Heart-blood*, than the *Cup of the Lord*, unto such as had not the hopeful Marks of our Lord's Disciples on them. The Churches of *New-England* still retain a Custom which the great *Justin Martyr* in the Second Century assures us to have been in the Primitive Churches of his Time; namely, *To examine those they receive, not only about their Perswasion, but also whether they have attained unto a work of Grace upon their Souls*. In the prosecution

prosecution hereof, besides the Enquiries of the Elders into the Knowledge, and Belief, and Conversation of them that offer themselves unto Church fellowship, it is expected, tho I hope not with any severity of imposition, that in the Addresses which they make to the Churches, they give some Written, if not Oral Account, of what impressions the Regenerating Word of God has had upon their Souls. This was a Custom which this Holy man had a marvellous esteem and value for; and I have taken from his Mouth such as these Expressions very publickly delivered thereabouts.

‘ It is matter (said he) of great Thankfulness, that we have Christ confessed in our Churches, by such as we receive to full communion there. They open the Works of Christ in their Hearts, and the Relation thereof is an eminent *Confession* of our Lord; experienced Saints can gather more than a little from it. It is indeed an Ordinance of wonderful benefit; the Lord planted many Vineyards in the first Settlement of this Country, and there were many Noble Vines in them; it was their Heavenly-mindedness which dispos’d them to this Exercise; and by the upholding of it, the Churches are still filled with Noble Vines; it mightily maintains purity of Churches. ’Tis the

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‘ Duty.

'Duty of every Christian, *With the Mouth*
 'Confession in made unto Salvation. As among
 'the *Jews*, usually most men did once in their
 'life Celebrate a *Jubilee*; thus this Confes-
 'sion of Christ, is methinks a sort of *Jubi-*
 'lee; and every Good man among us, is
 'at least once in his life call'd unto it. It
 'is a thing that gives great Glory to the
 'Lord Jesus Christ; and younger Converts
 'are thereby exceedingly edify'd; and the
 'Souls of Devout Christians are hereby ve-
 'ry much ingratiated one unto another.
 'The Devil knows what he does, when
 'he thrusts so hard to get this Custom
 'out of our Churches. For my part, I
 'would say in this case, *Get thee behind me*
 '*Satan*; *thou givest an horrible Offence unto*
 '*the Lord Jesus Christ*. Let us keep up this
 'Ordinance with all Gentleness; and where
 'we see the least spark of Grace held forth,
 'let us prize it more than all the Wit in the
 'World.

There were especially two things, which
 he was loth to see, and yet fear'd he saw, fal-
 ling in the Churches of *New-England*. One
 was, a thorough Establishment of Ruling-
 Elders in our Churches; which he thought
 sufficiently warranted by the Apostles men-
 tion of *Elders that Rule well, who yet Labour*
not in Word and Doctrine. He was very desi-
 rous

rous to have Prudent and Gracious men set over our Churches, for the Assistance of their Pastors, in the Church-acts that concern the Admission and Exclusion of Members, and the Inspection of the Conversation led by the Communicants, and the Instruction of their several Families, and the Visitation of the Afflicted in the Flock over which they should preside. Such *Helps in Government* had he himself been blessed withal; the last of which was the well-deserving Elder *Bowles*; and of him, did this Good man, in a Speech to a Synod of all the Churches in this Colony, take occasion to say, *There is my Brother Bowles, the Godly Elder of our Church at Roxbury, God helps him to do great things among us!* Had all our Pastors been so well accommodated, it is possible there would be more encouragement given to such an Office as that of *Ruling Elders*.

But the mention of a Synod brings to mind another thing, which he was concerned, that we might never want; and that is, a frequent Repetition of needful Synods in our Churches. For tho he had a deep, and a due care to preserve the *Rights of Particular Churches*; yet he thought all the Churches of the Lord Jesus by their Union in what they profess, in what they intend, and in what they enjoy, so compacted into one

Body Myſtical, as that all the ſeveral particular Churches every where ſhould act with a regard unto the good of the whole, and and unto the common Advice and Counſel of the Neighbourhood ; which cannot be done always by *Letters Miſſive*, like thoſe that paſſed between *Corinth* and *Rome* in the early days of Chriſtianity ; but it requires a Convention of the Churches in Synods, by their Delegates and Meſſengers. He did not count Churches to be ſo Independent, as that they can always diſcharge their whole Duty, and yet not act in a conjunction with Neighbour-Churches ; nor would he be of any Church that will not acknowledge it ſelf accountable to rightly compoſed Synods, which may have occaſion to enquire into the circumſtances of it ; he ſaw the main Intereſt and Buſineſs of Churches might quickly come to be ueterly loſt, if Synods were not often called for the Repairing of Inconveniencies ; and he was much in contriving for the regular and repeated meeting of ſuch Aſſemblies.

He wiſh'd for Councils to ſuppreſs all damnable Hereſies or pernicious Opinions, that might ever ariſe among us ; for Councils to extinguiſh all dangerous Diviſions, and ſcandalous Contentions, which might ever begin to flame in our Borders ; for
Coun-

Councils to rectify all Male- Administrations in the midst of us, or to recover any particular Churches out of any Disorders which they may be plung'd into: For Councils to enquire into the Love, the Peace, the Holiness maintain'd by the several Churches. In fine, for Councils to send forth fit Labourers into those parts of our Lord's Harvest, which are without the Gospel of God. He beheld an Apostolical Precept and Pattern for such Councils; and when such Councils convened in the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ, by the consent of several Churches concerned in mutual Communion, have declared, explained, recommended the Mind of God from his Word unto us, he reckoned a Truth so delivered, challenged an Observation from the particular Churches, with a very great Authority.

He therefore printed an Ingenious little Book wearing this Title, *The Divine Management of Gospel Churches by the Ordinance of Councils, constituted in order according to the Scriptures, which may be a means of uniting those two holy and eminent Parties, the Presbyterians and the Congregational*. It is a remarkable Concession made by the incomparable Jurieu, who is not reckoned a Congregational man, in his *Traite de l'Unite de l'Eglise*, That the Apostolical Churches lived not in
any,

any Confederation for mutual Dependence. The grand Equipage of Metropolitans, of Primates, of Exarchs, of Patriarchs, was yet unknown ; nor does it any more appear to us, that the Churches then had their Provincial, National, and Oecumenical Synods ; every Church was its own Mistress, and independent on any other. But on the other side, our Eliot, who was no Presbyterian, conceived Synods to be the Institutions of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Apostolical Churches themselves acknowledging a stamp of Divine Right upon them.

Such as these were the sentiments of our Eliot ; and his deserved Reputation in the Churches of New-England, is that which has caused me to foresee some Advantage and Benefit arising unto the concerns of the Gospel, by so large a recitation as I have now made thereof.

The Reader has now seen an able Minister of the New-Testament.

P A R T III.

Or, Eliot as an Evangelist.

THE Titles of a *Christian* and of a *Minister* have rendred our *Eliot* considerable ; but there is one memorable Title more, by which he has been signalized unto us. An honourable Person did once in Print put the Name of an *Evangelist* upon him ; whereupon in a Letter of his to that Person, afterwards printed , his Expressions were , *There is a Redundency where you put the Title of Evangelist upon me ; I beseech you to suppress all such things ; let us do, and speak, and carry all things with Humility ; it is the Lord who hath done what is done ; and it is most becoming the Spirit of Jesus Christ, to lift up him, and lay ourselves low ; I wish that word could be obliterated.* My Reader sees what a Caution Mr. *Eliot* long since entred against our giving him the Title of an *Evangelist* ; but his Death has now made it safe, as his Life had long made it just, for us to acknowledge him with such a Title. I know not whether that of an *Evangelist*, or one separated for the Employment of Preaching the Gospel in
such

such places where no Churches have hitherto been gathered, be not an Office that should be continued in our days; but this I know, that our *Eliot* very notably did the Service and Business of such an Officer.

The Natives of the Countrey now possessed by the *New-Englanders*, had been forlorn and wretched *Heathen* ever since their first herding here; and tho we know not *when* or *how* those *Idians* first became Inhabitants of this mighty Continent; yet we may guess, that probably the Devil decoy'd those miserable Salvages hither, in hopes that the Gospel of the Lord Jesus would never come here to destroy or disturb his *Absolute Empire* over them. But our *Eliot* was in such ill terms with the Devil, as to alarm him with sounding the Silver Trumpets of Heaven in his Territories, and make some noble and zealous attempts towards ousting him of his ancient Possessions here. Just before the first arrival of the *English* in these Parts, a prodigious Mortality had swept away vast Numbers of the poor *Indians*; and those *Pagans* who being told by a Shipwreck'd *French-man*, which dy'd in their hands, *That God would shortly extirpate them, and introduce a more civil and worthy People into their place*; blasphemously reply'd, *That God could not kill them*; were quickly
kill'd

kill'd with such a raging and wasting Pestilence, as left the very Earth covered with their Carcasses. Nevertheless, there were, I think, twenty several Nations (if I may call them so) of *Indians* upon that spot of Ground, which fell under the Influence of our Three *United Colonies*; and our *Eliot* was willing to rescue as many of them as he could, from that old usurping Landlord of *America*, who is by the wrath of God, *the Prince of this world*.

I cannot find that any, besides the Holy Spirit of God, first moved him to the blessed Work of Evangelizing these perishing *Indians*; 'twas that Holy Spirit which laid before his mind the *Idea* of that which is now on the Seal of the *Massachusetts-Colony*; *A poor Indian, having a Label going from his Mouth, with a, COME OVER AND HELP US*. It was the Spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ, which enkindled in him a Pity for the dark, dying, damning Souls of these Natives, whom *the God of this world* had blinded, through all the by-past Ages. He was none of those that make *the salvation of the Heathen* an Article of their Creed; but (setting aside the unrevealed and extraordinary steps which the *Holy One of Israel* may take out of his usual Paths) he thought men to be lost, if our Gospel be hid-

hidden from them ; and he was of the same Opinion with one of the Ancients, who said, *Some have endeavoured to prove Plato a Christian, till they prove themselves little better than Heathen.* It is indeed a Principle in the *Turkish Alcoran*, *That let a man's Religion be what it will, he shall be saved, if he conscientiously live up to the Rules of it :* But our Eliot was no *Mahometan*, he could most heartily subscribe to that passage in the Articles of the Church of England, ' They are to be held accursed, ' who presume to say, that every man shall ' be saved by the Law or Sect which he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame ' his Life according to that Law and Light ' of Nature ; for Holy Scripture doth set ' out unto us, only the Name of Jesus ' Christ, whereby men must be saved. And it astonished him to see many dissembling Subscribers of those Articles, while they have grown up to such a Frenzy, as to deny peremptorily all Church-state, and all Salvation to all that are not under *Diocesan Bishops* ; yet at the same time to grant that the *Heathen* might be saved without the Knowledge of the Lord Jesus Christ. No, It very powerfully moved his holy Bowels, to hear the Thunderclaps of that Imprecation over the Heads of our naked *Indians*, *Pour out thy Fury upon the Heathen that know thee*

thee not ; and thought he, *What shall I do to rescue these Heathen from that all-devouring Fury?*

But when this Charitable pity had once begun to flame, there was a concurrence of many things to cast Oyl into it. All the good men in the Country were glad of his engagement in such an undertaking ; the Minilters especially encouraged him, and those in the Neighbourhood kindly supply'd his place, and perform'd his work, in part, for him at Roxbury, while he was abroad labouring among them that were without. Hereunto he was further awakened by those Expressions in the Royal Charter, in the assurance and protection whereof this Wilderness was first peopled, namely, *To win and incite the Natives of that Country to the knowledge and obedience of the only true God and Saviour of Mankind, and the Christian Faith, in our Royal Intention ; and the Adventurers free profession is the principal end of the Plantation.* And the remarkable Zeal of the Romish Missionaries compassing Sea and Land that they might make Profelytes, made his devout Soul think of it with a further disdain, that we should come any whit behind in our care to Evangelize the Indians, whom we dwelt among. Lastly, When he had well begun this Evangelical Business,

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the good God, in an answer to his Prayers, mercifully stirred up a liberal Contribution among the godly people in *England* for the promoting of it; by means whereof, a considerable Estate and Income was at length entrusted in the hands of an honourable Corporation, by whom 'tis to this day very carefully employed in the Christian Service, which it was designed for. And then, in short, inasmuch as our Lord Jesus had bestowed on us, our *Eliot* was gratefully and generously desirous to obtain for him, *The Heathen for an Inheritance, and the utmost parts of the earth for a possession.*

The Exemplary Charity of this excellent person in this important Affair, will not be seen in its due lustre, unless we make some Reflections upon several Circumstances which he beheld these forlorn *Indians* in. Know then, that these doleful Creatures are the veriest *Ruines of Mankind*, which are to be found any where upon the face of the Earth. No such Estates are to be expected among them, as have been the Baits which the pretended Converters in other Countries have snapped at. One might see among them, what an hard Matter the Devil is to the most devoted of his Vassals! These abject Creatures live in a Country full of Mines; we have already
made

made entrance upon our Iron ; and in the very surface of the ground among us there is Copper enough to supply all this World ; besides other Mines hereafter to be exposed ; but our shiftless *Indians* were never Owners of so much as a Knife, till we came among them ; their name for an *English-man*, was a *Knife-man* ; Stone was instead of Metal for their Tools ; and for their Coins, they have only little Beads with Holes in them to string them upon a Bracelet, whereof some are white ; and of these there go six for a penny ; some are black or blew ; and of these, go three for a penny ; this *Wampam*, as they call it, is made of the Shell-fish, which lies upon the Sea-coast continually.

They live in a Country, where we now have all the conveniences of humane life : but as for them, their Housing is nothing but a few Mats ty'd about Poles fastened in the Earth, where a good Fire is their Bed-clothes in the coldest Seasons ; their Cloathing is but a skin of a Beast, covering their Hind-parts, their Fore-parts having but a little Apron where nature calls for secrecy ; their Diet has not a greater dainty than their *Nokebick*, that is, a spoonful of their parch'd meal, with a spoonful of water, which will strengthen them to travel a day together ;

ther; except we should mention the Flesh of Deers, Bears, Moose, Rackoons, and the like; which they have when they can catch them; as also a little Fish, which if they would preserve, 'twas by drying, not by salting; for they had not a grain of Salt in the World, I think, till we bestow'd it on them. Their Physick is, excepting a few odd Specificks, which some of them encounter certain cases with, nothing hardly, but an Hot-house, or a *Powaw*. Their Hot-house is a little Cave, about eight foot over; where, after they have terribly heated it, a crew of them go sit and sweat, and smoke for an hour together, and then immediately run into some very cold adjacent brook, without the least mischief to them; 'tis this way they recover themselves from some Diseases, particularly from the *French*; but in most of their dangerous Distempers, 'tis a *Powaw* that must be sent for; that is, a Priest, who has more Familiarity with Satan than his Neighbours; this Conjuror comes and roars, and howls, and uses Magical Ceremonies over the Sick man, and will be well paid for it when he has done; if this don't effect the cure, the *Man's Time is come, and there's an end.*

They live in a Country full of the best Ship-Timber under Heaven: but never saw
a Ship

a Ship till some came from *Europe* hither ; and then they were scar'd out of their wits, to see the Monster come sailing in, and spitting fire with a mighty noise out of her floating side ; they cross the water in *Canoo's*, made sometimes of Trees which they burn and hew till they have hallow'd them ; and sometimes of Barks, which they stitch into a light sort of a Vessel, to be easily carried over land ; if they are over-set, it is but a little paddling like a Dog, and they are soon where they were.

Their way of living is infinitely barbarous : the men are most abominably sloathful ; making their poor *Squaws*, or Wives, to plant, and dress, and barn, and beat their Corn, and build their *Wigwams* for them ; which, perhaps, may be the reason of their extraordinary ease in Childbirth. In the mean time, their chief employment, when they'l condescend unto any, is that of Hunting ; wherein they'l go out some scores, if not hundreds of them in a company, driving all before them.

They continue in a place till they have burnt up all the Wood thereabouts, and then they pluck up Stakes, to follow the Wood which they cannot fetch home unto themselves ; hence when they enquire about the *English*, *Why come they hither?* they have them-

themselves very learnedly determined the case, *'Twas because we wanted Firing*. No Arts are understood among them, unless just so far as to maintain their Bruitish Conversation, which is little more than is to be found among the very *Beyers* upon our Streams.

Their division of Time is by Sleeps, and Moons, and Winters; and by lodging abroad they have somewhat observed the motions of the Stars; among which it has been surprising unto me to find, that they have always call'd *Charles's Wain* by the name of *Pankunnawaw*, or *The Bear*, which is the name whereby *Europeans* also have distinguished it. Moreover, they have little, if any Traditions among them worthy of our notice; and Reading and Writing is altogether unknown to them, though there is a Rock or two in the Countrey that has unaccountable Characters engrav'd upon it. All the Religion they have, amounts unto thus much: They believe that there are many Gods, who made and own the several Nations of the World; of which a certain Great God in the South-west Regions of Heaven, bears the greatest Figure. They believe, that every remarkable Creature has a peculiar God within it, or about it: There is with them, a Sun-God, a Moon-God,

and

and the like; and they cannot conceive but that the Fire must be a kind of a God, inasmuch as a Spark of it will soon produce very strange effects. They believe that when any good or ill happens to them, there is the favour or the anger of a God expressed in it; and hence, as in a time of Calamity, they keep a Dance, or a day of extravagant ridiculous Devotions to their God; so in a time of Prosperity they likewise have a Feast, wherein they also make presents one unto another. Finally, They believe, that their chief God *Kautantowit*, made a Man and Woman of a Stone; which upon dislike, he broke to pieces, and made another Man and Woman of a Tree, which were the Fountains of all Mankind; and, that we all have in us immortal Souls, which, if we were godly, shall go to a splendid entertainment with *Kautantowit*; but otherwise, must wander about in a restless horror for ever. But if you say to them any thing of a Resurrection, they will reply upon you, *I shall never believe it.* And when they have any weighty undertaking before them, 'tis an usual thing for them to have their Assemblies, wherein after the usage of
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of some Diabolical Rites, a Devil appears unto them, to inform them, and advise them about their circumstances; and sometimes there are odd Events of their making these Applications to the Devil. For instance, 'tis particularly affirmed, That the *Indians* in their Wars with us, finding a fore inconvenience by our Dogs, which would make a sad yelling if in the night they scented the approaches of them, they sacrificed a Dog to the Devil; after which no *English* Dog would bark at an *Indian* for divers months ensuing. This was the miserable people which our *Eliot* propounded unto himself the saving of! And he had a double work incumbent on him; he was to make Men of them, ere he could hope to see them Saints; they must be civilized ere they could be Christianized; he could not, as *Gregory* once of our Nation, see any thing Angelical to bespeak his Labours for their eternal Welfare; all among them was Diabolical. To think on raising a Number of these hideous Creatures unto the Elevations of our holy Religion, must argue more than common or little Sentiments in the Undertaker; but the Faith of an *Eliot* could encounter it!

I confess there was one, I cannot call it so much guess as wish, wherein he was willing a little to indulge himself; and that was, *That our Indians are the posterity of the dispersed and rejected Israelites, concerning whom our God has promised that they shall yet be saved by the Deliverer, coming to turn away ungodliness from them.* He saw the *Indians* using many Parables in their Discourses; much given to the anointing of their Heads; much delighted in Dancing, especially after Victories; computing their Times by Nights and Months; giving Dowries for Wives, and causing their Women to dwell by themselves at certain seasons, for secret causes; and accustoming themselves to grievous Mournings and Yellowings for the Dead; all which were usual things among the *Israelites*. They have too a great unkindness for our Swine; but I suppose that is because our Hogs devour the *Clams*, which are a Dainty with them. He also saw some Learned Men looking for the lost *Israelites* among the *Indians* in *America*, and counting that they had thorow good reasons for doing so. And a few small Arguments, or indeed but Conjectures, meeting with a favourable disposition in the hearer, will carry some conviction with them; especially,

cially, if a Report of a *Menasseh ben Israel* be to back them. He saw likewise the Judgments threatned unto the *Israelites* of Old, Strangely fulfilled upon our *Indians*; particularly that, *Ye shall eat the flesh of your Sons*, which is done with exquisite Cruelties upon the Prisoners that they take from one another in their Battels. Moreover, 'tis a Prophecy in *Deut.* 28. 68. *The Lord shall bring thee into Egypt again with ships, by the way whereof I spake unto thee, Thou shalt see it no more again: And there shall ye be sold unto your Enemies, and no man shall buy you.* This did our *Eliot* imagine accomplished, when the Captives taken by us in our late Wars upon them, were sent to be sold in the Coasts, lying not very remote from *Egypt* on the *Mediterranian* Sea; and scarce any Chapmen would offer to take them off, being upon such as these accounts not unwilling, if it were possible, to have the *Indians* found *Israelites*, they were, you may be sure, not a whit the less *beloved for their* (supposed) *Fathers sake*; and the Fatigues of his Travels went on the more cheerfully, or at least, the more hopefully, because of such possibilities.

The first step which he judged necessary now to be taken by him, was to learn the
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the *Indian* Language, for he saw them so stupid and senseless, that they would never do so much as enquire after the Religion of the Strangers now come into their Country, much less would they so far imitate us as to leave off their beastly way of living, that they might be partakers of any Spiritual advantage by us, unless we could first address them in a Language of their own. Behold, new difficulties to be surmounted by our indefatigable *Eliot* ! he hires a Native to teach him this Exotick Language, and with a laborious Care and Skill reduces it into a *Grammar*, which afterwards he published. There is a Letter or two of our Alphabet which the *Indians* never had in theirs ; tho' there were enough of the Dog in their Temper, there can scarce be found an *R* in their Language, save that the *Indians* to the Northward, who have a peculiar Dialect, pronounce an *R* where an *N* is pronounced by our *Indians* ; but if their Alphabet be short, I am sure the words composed of it are long enough to tire the Patience of any Scholar in the World, they are *Sesquipedalia Verba*, which their *Linguo* is composed of ; one would think they have been growing ever since *Babel*, unto the dimensions to which they are now

extended. For instance, if my Reader will count how many Letters there are in this one word, *Nummatcbekodtantamooonganunnonash*, when he has done, for his reward I'll tell him, it signifies no more in *English* than, *our Lusts*; and if I were to translate, *our Loves*, it must be nothing shorter than *Noowomantammoonkanunnonash*. Nor do we find in all this Language the least Affinity to, or Derivation from any *European* Speech that we are acquainted with. I know not what thoughts it will produce in my Reader, when I inform him, that once finding that the *Dæmons* in a possessed young Woman, whereof I have given the World some account, understood the *Latin* and *Greek*, and *Hebrew* Languages, my Curiosity led me to make trial of this *Indian* Language, and the *Dæmons* did seem as if they did not understand it: This tedious Language our *Eliot* quickly became a Master of; he employed a pregnant and witty *Indian*, who also spoke *English* well, for his assistance in it; and compiling some discourses by his help, he would single out a *Word*, a *Noun*, a *Verb*, and pursue it through all its variations: Having finished his *Grammar*, at the close he writes, *Prayers and Pains, through Faith in Christ*
Jesus,

Jesus, will do any thing! And being by his Prayers and Pains thus furnished, he set himself in the Year 1646 to preach the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ among these desolate outcasts.

¶ It remains that I lay before the World, the remarkable Conduct and Success of this Famous Man in his great Affair; and I shall endeavour to do it, by Englishing and Reprinting a Letter, sent a while since by my Father, unto his Learned and Renown'd Correspondent, the Venerable Dr. *Luesden* at *Utrecht*; which Letter has already been published, if I mistake not, in four or five divers Languages. I find it particularly published by the most excellent *Jurieu*, at the end of a *Pastoral Letter*; and this Reflection then worthily made upon it, *Cette Lettre doit apporter une tres grande Consolation, a toutes les bonnes ames, qui sont alterees de Justice, & qui sont enflammees du zele de la gloire de Dieu.* I therefore perswade myself, that the Republication of it will not be ungrateful unto many good Souls in our Nation, who have a due thirst and zeal for such things as are mention'd in it; and when that is done, I shall presume to make some *Annotations* for the Illustration of sundry memorable things herein pointed at.

*A LETTER concerning the Success of
the Gospel amongst the Indians in New-
England.*

*Written by Mr. Increase Mather, Minister
of the Word of God at Boston, and Rector
of the Colledge at Cambridge in New-
England, to Doctor John Leusden, He-
brew Professor in the University of Utrecht.*

Translated out of Latin into English.

Worthy and much honoured Sir,

YOUR Letters were very grateful to
to me, (a) by which I understand
that you and others in your famous Uni-
versity of *Utrecht* desire to be informed
concerning the converted *Indians* in *Ame-
rica*: Take therefore a true Account of
them in a few words.

It is above forty Years since that truly
godly Man, Mr. *John Elliot*, Pastor of
the Church at *Roxborough*, (about a mile
from *Boston* in *New-England*) being warm-
ed with a holy Zeal of Converting the *A-
mericans*, set himself to learn the *Indian*
Tongue, that he might more easily and
successfully (b) open to them the Myste-
ries of the Gospel; upon account of
which

which he has been (and not undeservedly) called, *The Apostle of the American Indians*. This Reverend Person, not without very great labour, translated the whole Bible into the *Indian Tongue*; (c) he translated also several *English Treatises* of Practical Divinity and Catechisms into their Language. Above 26 Years ago he gathered a Church of Converted *Indians* in a Town called (d) *Natick*; these *Indians* confess'd their sins with Tears, and professed their Faith in Christ, and afterwards they and their Children were Baptized, and they were solemnly joyned together in a *Church-Covenant*; the said Mr. *Eliot* was the first that administered the Lord's Supper to them. The Pastor of that Church now is an *Indian*, his name is *Daniel*. Besides this Church at *Natick*, among our Inhabitants in the *Massachusetts Colony*, there are four *Indian Assemblies*, (e) where the Name of the True God and Jesus Christ is solemnly called upon; these Assemblies have some *American Preachers*. Mr. *Eliot* formerly used to Preach to them once every fortnight, but now he is weakned with Labours and old Age, being in the Eighty fourth Year of his Age, and Preacheth not to the *Indians* oftner than once in two Months.

There is another Church, consisting only of Converted *Indians*, about fifty Miles from hence, in an *Indian* Town called *Mashippaug* : The first Pastor of that Church was an *English* Man, who being skilful in the *American* Language, Preached the Gospel to them in their own Tongue. (f) This *English* Pastor is dead, and instead of him that Church has an *Indian* Preacher.

There are, besides that, five Assemblies of *Indians* professing the Name of *Christ*, not far distant from *Mashippaug*, which have *Indian* Preachers ; (g) *John Cotton*, Pastor of the Church at *Plymouth* (Son of my venerable Father-in law *John Cotton*, formerly the famous Teacher of the Church at *Boston*) hath made very great progress in learning the *Indian* Tongue, and is very skilful in it ; he Preaches in their own Language to the last five mentioned Congregations every Week. Moreover of the Inhabitants of *Saconet* in *Plymouth* Colony, there is a great Congregation of those who for distinction sake are called *Praying Indians*, because they Pray to God in *Christ*.

Not far from a Promontory called *Cape-Cod*, there are six Assemblies of *Heathens* who are to be reckoned as *Catechumens*,

mens, amongst whom there are six *Indian* Preachers, *Samuel Treat*, Pastor of Church at *Eastham*, Preacheth to those Congregations in their own Language. There are likewise amongst the Islanders of *Nantucket* a Church, with a Pastor who was lately a *Heathen*, and several Meetings of *Catechumens*, who are instructed by the *Converted Indians*. There is also another Island about seven Leagues long (called *Martha's Vineyard*) where are two *American* Churches planted, which are more famous than the rest, over one of which there presides an ancient *Indian* as Pastor, called *Hiaccoms*: *John Hiaccoms*, Son of the said *Indian* Pastor, also Preacheth the Gospel to his Country-men. In another Church in that place, *John Tockmish* a *Converted Indian* teaches. In these Churches *ruling Elders* of the *Indians* are joyned to the Pastors: The Pastors were chosen by the People, and when they had fasted and prayed, Mr. Eliot and Mr. Cotton laid their Hands on them, so that they were solemnly Ordained. All the Congregations (*b*) of the *Converted Indians* (both the *Catechumens* and those in Church Order) every Lord's Day meet together; the Pastor or Preacher always begins with Prayer, and without a Form, because from

the Heart ; when the Ruler of the Assembly has ended Prayer, the whole Congregation of *Indians* Praise God with singing, some of them are excellent Singers : After the *Psalm*, he that Preaches reads a place of Scripture (one or more Verses as he will) and expounds it, gathers Doctrines from it, proves them by *Scriptures* and *Reasons*, and infers uses from them after the manner of the *English*, of whom they have been taught ; then another Prayer to God in the Name of Christ concludes the whole Service. Thus do they meet together twice every Lord's-day. They observe no Holy-days but the Lord's Day, except upon some extraordinary occasion ; and then they solemnly set apart whole Days, either in giving Thanks, or Fasting and Praying with great fervor of Mind.

Before the *English* came into these Coasts, these barbarous Nations were altogether ignorant of the true God ; hence it is that in their Prayers and Sermons they use *English* words and terms ; he that calls upon the most holy Name of God, says *Jehovah*, or *God*, or *Lord* ; and also they have learned and borrowed many other Theological Phrases from us.

In short, there are six Churches of Baptized *Indians* in *New-England*, and eighteen Assemblies of *Catechumens*, professing the Name of Christ: Of the *Indians* there are four and twenty who are Preachers of the Word of God; and besides these, there are four *English* Ministers who preach the Gospel in the *Indian* Tongue. (i) I am now my self weary with writing, and I fear lest if I should add more, I should also be tedious to you; yet one thing I must add (which I had almost forgot) that there are many of the *Indians* Children who have learned by Heart the Catechism, either of that famous Divine *William Perkins*, or that put forth by the Assembly of Divines at *Westminster*, and in their own Mother Tongue can answer to all the Questions in it.

But I must end: I salute the famous Professors in your University, to whom I desire you to communicate this Letter, as written to them also.

Farwel, worthy Sir; the Lord preserve your Health for the benefit of your Country, his Church, and of Learning.

Boston in New-Engl.
July 12. 1687.

Yours ever,
Increase Mather.

(a) *The Success of the Gospel in the*
EAST-INDIES.

AFTER the writing of *this* Letter, there came one to my Hands from the famous Dr. *Leusden*, together with a new and fair Edition of his *Hebrew Psalter*, Dedicated unto the Name of my absent Parent. He therein informs me, That our Example had awakned the *Dutch* to make some noble Attempts for the furtherance of the Gospel in the *East-Indies*; besides what memorable things were done by the Excellent *Robert Junius*, in *formosa*, fifty years ago. He also informs me, That in and near the Island of *Ceylon*, the *Dutch* Pastors have Baptized about three hundred thousand of *Eastern Indians*; for altho' the Ministers are utterly ignorant of their Language, yet here are *School-Masters* who teach them, The *Lord's Prayer*, the *Creed*, the *Ten Commandments*, a *Morning Prayer*, an *Evening Prayer*, a *Blessing* before Meat, and another after; and the Minister in his Visits being assured by the Master, who of them has learn'd all of them *seven* things, he thereupon counts they have such a perfect number of Attainments, that he presently *Baptizes* them in

them. The pious Reader will doubtless bless God for *this*; but he will easily see that *one* of our Converted *Indians* has cost more pains than many of those; more *thorough work* has been made with them.

(b) *Mr. Eliot's way of opening the Mysteries of the Gospel to our Indians.*

T Was in the Year 1646, that Mr. Eliot accompany'd by three more, gave a visit unto an Assembly of *Indians*, of whom he desired a Meeting at such a time and place, that he might lay before them the things of their Eternal Peace. After a serious *Prayer*, he gave them a *Sermon*, which continued about a quarter above an hour, and contained the principal Articles of the Christian Religion, applying all to the condition of the *Indians* present. Having done, he asked them, whether they understood? and with a general reply they answered, *They understood all*. He then began what was his usual method afterwards in treating with them; that is, he caused them to propound such *Questions* as they pleas'd, unto himself; and he gave wise and good *Answers* to them all. Their *Questions* would often, tho not always, refer to what he had newly Preached; and he

he this way not only made a *Proof* of their profiting by his Ministry, but also gave an *Edge* of what he delivered unto them. Some of their *Questions* would be a little *Philosophical*, and required a good measure of Learning in the Minister concerned with them; but for this our *Eliot* wanted not. He would also put proper *Questions* unto them, and at one of his first Exercises with them, he made the young ones capable of regarding these three Questions.

Q. 1. *Who made you and all the world?*

Q. 2. *Who do you look should save you from Sin and Hell?*

Q. 3. *How many Commandments has the Lord given you to keep?*

It was his Wisdom that he began with them upon such Principles, as they themselves had already had some notion of; such as that of an *Heaven* for good, and *Hell* for bad People, when they *Dy'd*. It broke his gracious Heart within him to see, what Floods of Tears fell from the Eyes of several among these Degenerate Salvages, at the first Addresses which he made unto them; yea, from the very worst of them all. He was very inquisitive to learn who were the *Powaws*, that is, the *Sorcerers* and *Seducers*, that maintained

tained the Worship of the Devil in any of their Societies; and having in one of his first Journies to them, found out one of those Wretches, he made the *Indian* come unto him, and said, *Whether do you suppose God, or Chepian (i. e. the Devil) to be the Author of all good?* The Conjurer answered, *God.* Upon this, he added with a stern Countenance, *Why do you pray to Chepian then?* and the poor Man was not able to stand or speak before him; but at last made promises of Reformation.

The Text which he first Preached upon, was that in Ezek. 37. 9, 10. *That by Propheſying to the Wind, the wind came, and the Dry Bones lived;* and it was an observation made by one, who then justly confessed, there was *not much weight* in it; that the word which the Indians use for *wind*, is *wauban*, and an Indian of that Name was one of the first that here zealously promoted the Conversion of his Neighbours. But having thus entred upon the *Teaching* of these poor Creatures, it's incredible how much time, toyl, and hardship, he underwent in the Prosecution of this Undertaking; how many weary days and nights rolled over him; how many tiresome Journies he endured; and how many terrible dangers he
had

had experience of. If you briefly would know *what* he felt, and *what* carried him through all, take it in his own words, in a Letter to the Honourable Mr. Winslow, says he, *I have not been dry night nor day, from the third day of the week unto the sixth, but so Travelled, and at night pull of my Boots, wring my Stockings, and on with them again, and so continue. But God steps in and helps. I have considered the word of God in 2 Tim. 2. 3. Endure hardships as a good Souldier of Christ.*

(c) *His Translating the Bible, and other Books of Piety into the Indian Tongue.*

ONE of his Remarkable Cares for these illiterate Indians, was to bring them into the use of *Schools* and *Books*. He quickly procured the benefit of *Schools* for them; wherein they profited so much, that not only very many of them came to *Read* and *Write*, but also several arrived unto a Liberal Education in our Colledge, and one or two of them took their degree with the rest of our *Graduates*. And for Books, 'twas his chief desire that the sacred Scriptures might not in an unknown.

known Tongue be locked or hidden from them; very hateful and hellish did the policy of Popery appear to him on this account: Our *Eliot* was very unlike to that *Franciscan*, who writing into *Europe*, gloried much how many thousands of *Indians* he had converted; but added, *That he desired his Friend would send him the Book called the Bible; for he had heard of there being such a Book in Europe, which might be of some use to him.* No, our *Eliot* found he could not live without a Bible himself; he would have parted with all his Estate sooner than have lost a Book of it; and he knew it would be of more than some use unto the *Indians* too. He therefore with a vast labour translated the Holy Bible into the *Indian* Language. Behold, ye *Americans*, the greatest honour that ever you were partakers of! This Bible was printed here at our *Cambridge*; and it is the only Bible that ever was printed in all *America*, from the very foundation of the World. The whole Translation he writ with but one Pen; which Pen, had it not been lost, would have certainly deserved a richer Case than was bestow'd upon that Pen which *Halland* writ his Translation of *Plutarch* with. The Bible being justly made the
Leader

Leader of all the rest, a little *Indian* Library quickly followed ; for besides *Primers*, and *Grammars*, and some other such *Composures*, we quickly had *The Practice of Piety* in the *Indian* Tongue ; and the Reverend *Richard Baxter's* *Call to the Unconverted* ; he also translated some of Mr. *Shepherd's* *Composures* ; and such *Catechisms* likewise as there was occasion for. It cannot but be hoped that some *Fish* were to be made alive, since the *Waters* of the *Sanctuary* thus came unto them.

(d) *His gathering of a Church at Natick.*

THE *Indians* that had felt the Impressions of his Ministry, were quickly distinguished by the name of *Praying-Indians*; and these *Praying-Indians* as quickly were for a more decent, and *English* way of living, and they desired a more fixed *Cohabitation*. At several Places did they now combine and settle : But the Place of greatest name among their Towns. is that of *Natick*.

Here 'twas, that in the year 1651 those that had heretofore lived like the wild Beasts in the Wilderness, now compacted themselves into a Town ; and they first apply'd themselves to the forming of their Civil Government. Our General Court,

Court, notwithstanding their exact study to keep these *Indians* very sensible of their being subject unto the *English* Empire, yet had allowed them their smaller Courts, wherein they might govern their own smaller Cases and Concurs after their own particular modes, and might have their Town Orders, if I may call them so, peculiar to themselves. With respect hereunto, Mr. Eliot on a Solemn Fast made a publick Vow, *That seeing these Indians were not prepossessed with any Forms of Government, he would instruct them into such a Form as we had written in the Word of God, that so they might be a People in all things ruled by the Lord.* Accordingly, he expounded unto them the Eighteenth Chapter of *Exodus*; and then they chose Rulers of Hundreds, of Fifties, of Tens; and therewithall entered into this Covenant.

‘ We are the Sons of *Adam*; We and
‘ our Forefathers have a long time been
‘ lost in our sins; but now the Mercy of
‘ the Lord beginneth to find us out again;
‘ therefore the Grace of Christ helping
‘ us, we do give our selves and our Chil-
‘ dren unto God, to be his People. He
‘ shall rule us in all our Affairs; The
‘ Lord is our Judge, the Lord is our Law-
‘ giver, the Lord is our King; he will
‘ save

‘ save us ; and the wisdom which God
 ‘ has taught us in his Book shall guide
 ‘ us. Oh Jehovah ! Teach us wisdom ;
 ‘ send thy Spirit into our hearts ; take
 ‘ us to be thy People, and let us take thee
 ‘ to be our God.

Such an opinion about the perfection of the Scripture had he, that he thus expressed himself upon this occasion ; *God sending Nations into distress and perplexity, that so they may be forced unto the Scriptures ; all Governments will be shaken, that men may be forced at length to pitch upon that firm foundation, The Word of God.*

The little Towns of these Indians being pitched upon this Foundation, they utterly obandoned that *Polygamy* which had heretofore been common among them ; They made severe Laws against Fornication, Drunkenness, and Sabbath-breaking, and other Immoralities ; which they began to lament after the establishment of a Church-order among them, and after the several Ordinances and Privileges of a Church Communion. The Churches of *New-England* have usually been very strict in their admissions to Church-Fellowship, and required very signal demonstrations of a Repenting and a Believing Soul, before they thought men fit Subjects

jects to be entrusted with *the Rights of the Kingdom of Heaven*. But they seem'd rather to augment than abate their usual Strictness when the Examination of the *Indians* was to be performed. A day was therefore set apart, which they called *Natootomeuhbtenicusuk*, or, a *Day of asking Questions*, when the Ministers of the adjacent Churches, assisted with all the best Interpreters that could be had, publickly examined a good number of these Indians, about their Attainments both in Knowledge and in Vertue. And notwithstanding the great satisfaction then received, our Churches being willing to proceed surely, and therefore slowly, in raising them up to a Church state, which might be comprehended in our Consecrations, the Indians were afterwards called in Considerable Assemblies convened for that purpose, to make open Confession of their Faith in God and Christ, and of the Efficacy which his word had upon them for their Conversion to him; which Confessions being taken in writing from their mouths by able Interpreters, were scanned by the People of God, and found much acceptance with them.

I need pass no further censure upon them, than what is given by my Grandfather, the well-known *Richard Mather*, in an Epistle of his, published on this occasion ; says he, ‘ There is so much of God’s
 ‘ Work among them, as that I cannot but
 ‘ count it a great Evil, yea, a great Injury to God and his Goodness, for any to
 ‘ make light of it. To see and hear *Indians*
 ‘ *ans* open their Mouths, and lifting up
 ‘ their Hands and Eyes in Prayer to the
 ‘ Living God, calling on him by his Name
 ‘ *Jehovah*, in the Mediation of Jesus Christ
 ‘ and this for a good while together ; to
 ‘ see and hear them exhorting one another
 ‘ from the Word of God ; to see and
 ‘ hear them confessing the Name of Christ
 ‘ Jesus, and their own Sinfulness ; surely
 ‘ this is more than usual ! And tho’ they
 ‘ spoke in a Language, of which many
 ‘ of us understood but little, yet we that
 ‘ were present that day, we saw and
 ‘ heard them perform the Duties mentioned
 ‘ with such grave and sober Countenances,
 ‘ with such comely reverence, in their
 ‘ gesture, and their whole carriage, and
 ‘ with such plenty of Tears trickling down
 ‘ the Cheeks of some of them, as did argue
 ‘ to us that they spake with the holy Fear
 ‘ of God, and it much affected our hearts.

At length was a Church-state settled among them: They entred as our Churches do, into an holy Covenant, wherein they gave themselves, *first unto the Lord, and then unto one another*, to attend the Rules and Helps, and expect the Blessings of the Everlasting Gospel; and Mr. Eliot, having a Mission from the Church of Roxbury unto the work of the Lord Christ among the *Indians*, conceived himself sufficiently authorized unto the performing of all Church-work about them; grounding it on *Acts 13. 1, 2, 3, 4.* and he accordingly administred, first the Baptism, and then the Supper of the Lord unto them.

(e) *The Hindrances and Obstructions that the Devil gave unto him.*

WE find four Assemblies of Praying *Indians* besides that of *Natick*, in our Neighbourhood. But why no more? Truly, not because our *Eliot* was wanting in his Offers and Labours for their good; but because many of the obdurate Infidels would not receive the Gospel of Salvation. In one of his Letters, I find him giving this ill report, with such a good reason for it; *Lyn-Indians are all naught save*

save one, who sometimes comes to hear the word, and the reason why they are bad, is, principally because their Sachims is naught, and care not to pray unto God. Indeed the Sachims or the Princes of the Indians, generally did all they could that their Subjects might not entertain the Gospel; the Devil having the Sachims on their side, thereby kept their Possession of the People too. Their Pauwaws of Clergy-Men, did much to maintain the Interest of the Devils in this Wilderness, those Children of the Devil, and Enemies of all Righteousness, did not cease to pervert the Right ways of the Lord, but their Sachims or Magistrates did more towards it; for they would presently raise a Storm of Persecution upon any of their Vassals that should Pray unto the Eternal God. The ground of this conduct in them, was, an old Fear, that Religion would abridge them of the Tyranny which they had been us'd unto; they always, like the Devil, held their people in a most absolute servitude, and Rul'd by no Law, but by their Will, which left their poor Slaves nothing that they could call their own. They now suspected that Religion would put a Bridle upon such usurpations, and oblige them to a more Equal and Humane way of Govern-

Government; they therefore, some of them, had the Impudence to address the *English*, that no motions about the Christian Religion might ever be made unto them; and Mr. *Eliot* sometimes in the Wilderness, without the Company or Assistance of any other *Englishman*, has been treated in a very Threatning and barbarous manner by some of these Tyrants; but God inspir'd him with so much Resolution as to tell them, *I am about the work of the Great God, and my God with me, so that I fear neither you, nor all the Sachims in the Country; I'll go on, and you Touch me if you dare!* Upon which the stoutest of them have shrunk and fell before him. And one of them, he at length Conquered by Preaching unto him a Sermon upon the *Temptations* of our Lord; particularly, the *Temptations* which'd from the Kingdoms and Glories of the World.

The little Kingdoms and Glories of the Great Men among the *Indians*, was a powerful Obstacle to the success of Mr. *Eliot's* Ministry; and it is observable, that several of those Nations which thus rejected the Gospel, quickly afterwards were *Devil-driven* as to begin an unjust and bloody War upon the *English*, which issued

in their speedy and utter Extirpation from the Face of Gods Earth. It was particularly Remark'd, in *Philip*, the Ring-leader of the most calamitous War that ever they made upon us ; our *Eliot* made a Tender of the Everlasting Salvation to that King, but that *Philip* entertained it with contempt and anger, and after the *Indians* made of joyning signs with words, he took a Button upon the Coat of the Reverend Man, adding, *That he cared for his Gospel, just as much as he cared for that Button.* The World has heard what a Terrible Ruine soon came upon that woful Creature, and upon all his people. It was not long before the hand which now Writes, upon a certain occasion took off the Jaw from the Blasphemous exposed Skull of that *Leviathan* ; and the Renowned *Samuel Lee* is now Pastor to an *English* Congregation, sounding and showing the Praises of Heaven, upon that very spot of ground, where *Philip* and his *Indians* were lately Worshipping of the Devil.

Sometimes the more immediate Hand of God, by cutting off the principal Opposers of the Gospel among the *Indians* made way for Mr. *Eliot's* Ministry. As remember, he relates, that an Association

of prophane *Indians* near our *Weymouth*,
 let themselves to deter and seduce the
 Neighbour *Indians* from the *Right ways* of
 the Lord. But God quickly sent the *Small-*
Pox among them, which like a great
 Plague soon swept them away, and there-
 by engaged the rest unto himself. I need
 only to add, That one Attempt made by
 the Devil, to prejudice the *Pagans* against
 the Gospel, had something in it extraor-
 dinary. While Mr. *Eliot* was Preaching
 of Christ unto the other *Indians*, a *Dæ-*
mon appeared unto a Prince of the *Eastern-*
Indians, in a shape that had some Resem-
 blance of Mr. *Eliot*, or of an *English* Mini-
 ster, pretending to be, *The English-man's*
God. The Spectre commanded him, *To*
forbear the drinking of Rum, and to observe
the Sabbath-day, and to deal justly with his
Neighbours; all which things had been in-
 culcated in Mr. *Eliot's* Ministry; promi-
 sing therewithal unto him, That if he did
 so, at his Death his Soul should ascend un-
 to a happy Place; otherwise descend un-
 to Miseries; but the Apparition all the
 while, never said one word about Christ,
 which was the main subject of Mr. *Eliot's*
 Ministry. The *Sachim* received such an
 Impression from the Apparition, that he
 dealt justly with all Men, except in the

bloody Tragedies and Cruelties he afterwards committed on the *English* in our Wars; he kept the Sabbath-day like a Fast, frequently attending in our Congregations; he would not meddle with any *Rum*, tho usually his Country-men had rather dye than undergo such a piece of Self-denial; that Liquor has meerly Enchanted them. At last, and not long since, this *Dæmon* appear'd again unto this *Pagan*, requiring him to kill himself, and assuring him that he should revive in a day or two, never to dye any more. He thereupon divers times attempted it, but his Friends very carefully prevented it; however at length he found a fair Opportunity, for this fowl Business, and hanged himself; you may be sure, without his expected *Resurrection*. But it is easie to see what a stumbling-block was here laid before the miserable *Indians*.

(f) *The Indian Churches at Mashipaug, and elsewhere.*

THE same Spirit which acted Mr. *Eliot*, quickly inspired others elsewhere, to prosecute the work of rescuing the poor *Indians* out of their worse than *Egyptian* Darkness, in which Evil Angels had

had been so long preying upon them. One of these was the godly and gracious *Richard Bourn*, who soon saw a great effect of his holy Labours. In the Year 1666. Mr. *Eliot* accompanied by the Honourable Governour, and several Magistrates and Ministers of *Plymouth-Colony* procured a vast Assembly at *Mashippaug*; and there a good number of *Indians* made Confessions touching the *Knowledge* and *Belief*, and *Regeneration* of their Souls, with such Understanding and Affection, as was extreemly grateful to the Pious Auditory. Yet such was the strictness of the good People in this Affair, that before they would countenance the advancement of *these Indians* unto *Church-Fellowship*, they ordered their Confessions to be written and sent unto all the Churches in the Colony for their Approbation; but so approved they were, that afterwards the Messengers of all the Churches giving their presence and consent, they became a Church, and chose Mr. *Bourn* to be their Pastor; who was then by Mr. *Eliot* and Mr. *Cotton* Ordain'd unto that Office over them. From hence Mr. *Eliot* and Mr. *Cotton* went over to an Island called *Martha's Vineyard*, where God had so succeeded the honest Labours of

some, and particularly of the *Maybew's*, as that a Church was gathered.

This Church, after *Fasting and Prayer*, chose one *Hiacooms* to be their Pastor, *John Tockinosh*, an able and discreet *Christian* to be their Teacher ; *Joshua Mummeecheegs* and *John Nanafo* to be ruling Elders ; and these were then Ordain'd by Mr. *Eliot* and Mr. *Cotton* thereunto. Distance of Habitation caused this one Church by mutual Agreement afterwards to become two ; the Pastor and one ruling Elder taking one part, and the Teacher and one ruling Elder another ; and at *Nantucket*, another adjacent Island, was another Church of *Indians* quickly gathered, who chose an *Indian*, *John Gibs*, to be their Minister. These Churches are so exact in their Admission, and so solemn in their Discipline, and so serious in their Communion, that some of the *Christian English* in the Neighbourhood, which would have been loth to have mixed with them in a *Civil Relation*, yet have gladly done it a *Sacred One*.

'Tis needless for me to repeat what my Father has written about the other *Indian* Congregations ; only there having been made mention of one *Hiacooms*, I am willing to annex a Passage or two concerning
 . that

that memorable *Indian*. That *Indian* was a very great Instrument of bringing his *Pagan* and wretched Neighbours, to a saving acquaintance with our Lord Jesus Christ; and God gave him the honour, not only of so doing much for some, but also of suffering much from others, of those unhappy Salvages. Once particularly, this *Hiacooms* received a cruel blow from an *Indian* Prince, which, if some *English* had not been there, might have killed him, for his Praying unto God. And afterwards he gave this account of his Trial in it; said he, *I have two hands; I had one hand for Injuries, and the other for God; while I did receive wrong with the one, the other laid the greater hold on God.*

Moreover, the *Powaws* did use to hector and abuse the Praying *Indians* at such a rate, as terrified others from joyning with them; but once when those *Witches* were bragging that they could kill all the Praying *Indians* if they would; *Hiacooms* repli'd, *Let all the Powaws in the Island come together, I'll venture my self in the midst of them; let them use all their Witchcrafts, with the help of God I'll tread upon them all.* By this courage he silenced the *Powaws*; but at the same time also he heartned the People, at such a rate as was truly won-

derful ; nor could any of them ever harm this Eminent Confessor afterwards ; nor indeed any *Proselite* which had been by his means brought home to God ; yea, 'twas observed after this, that they rather kill'd than cur'd all such of the Heathen as would yet make use of their Enchantments for help against their Sickness.

(g) *Of Mr. Eliot's Fellow-Labourers in the Indian-work.*

SO little was the Soul of our *Eliot* infected with any Envy, as that he longed for nothing more than Fellow-Labourers, that might move and shine in the same Orb with himself ; he made his cries both to God and Man, for more Labourers to be thrust forth into the *Indian Harvest* ; and indeed it was an Harvest of so few secular Advantages and Encouragements, that it must be nothing less than a Divine Thrust, which could make any to labour in it. He saw the answer of his Prayers, in the Generous and Vigorous Attempts made by several other most worthy Preachers of the Gospel, to Gospelize our perishing Indians. At the writing of my Father's Letter there were four ; but the Number of them increases

increases apace among us. At *Martha's Vineyard*, the old Mr. *Mayhew*, and several of his Sons, and Grand-sons, have done very worthily for the Souls of the Indians; there were fifteen years ago, by Computation, about fifteen hundred Seals of their Ministry upon that one Island. In *Connecticut*, the holy and acute Mr. *Fitch*, has made noble Essays, towards the Conversion of the Indians; but, I think, the Prince he has to deal withal, being an obstinate Infidel, gives unhappy Remora's to the Successes of his Ministry. And godly Mr. *Pierston* has in that Colony deserved well, if I mistake not, upon the same account. In *Massachusetts* we see at this day, the pious Mr. *Daniel Gookin*, the gracious Mr. *Peter Thatcher*, the well-accomplished and industrious Mr. *Grindal Rawson*, all of them hard at work, to turn these poor Creatures from *Darkness* unto *Light*, and from *Satan* unto *God*. In *Plymouth* we have the most active Mr. *Samuel Treat*, laying out himself to save this Generation; and there is one Mr. *Tupper*, who uses his laudable Endeavours for the Instruction of them.

'Tis my Relation to him, that causes me to defer unto the last place, the mention of Mr. *John Cotton*, who addresses

H 5

this

the *Indians* in their own Language with an admirable Dexterity, and has done more than a little ~~Service~~ for them. He hired an *Indian*, after the rate of twelve Pence *per* Day for fifty Days, to teach him the *Indian Tongue*; but his knavish Tutor having received his whole pay too soon, ran away before twenty Days were out; however, in this time he had profited so far, that he could Preach unto the Natives; and he has ever since been doing much for God among them. Having told my Reader, that the Second Edition of the *Indian Bible* was wholly of his Correction and Amendment; because it is not proper for me to say much of him, I shall only add this remarkable Story: Mr. Cotton, accompany'd by the Governor and Major-General, and sundry Persons of Quality, made a Journey to a Nation of *Indians* in the Neighbourhood, with a free offer of the Words whereby they might be Saved. The Prince took time to consider of it, and according to the true *English* of taking time in such cases, at length he told them, *He did not accept the Tender which they made him.* They then took their leaves of him, not without first giving him this plain and short Admonition, *If God have any Mercy for your*
miserable

miserable People, he will quickly find away to take you out of the way. 'Twas presently after this, that this Prince going forth to a Battel against another Nation of *Indians*, was killed in the Fight; and the young Prince being in his Minority, the Government fell into the hands of Protectors, which favoured the Interest of the Gospel. Mr. Cotton being advised of it, speedily and prosperously renewed the Tidings of an Eternal Saviour to the Salvages, who have ever since attended upon his Ministry; and the young *Sachim*, after he came to Age, expressed his Approbation of the Christian Religion; especially, when a while since he lay a Dying of a tedious Distemper, and would keep reading of Mr. *Baxter's Call to the Unconverted*, with floods of Tears in his Eyes, while he had any strength to do it.

Such as these are the Persons whom our *Eliot* left engag'd in the *Indian* work, when, he departed from his Employment, unto his Recompence. And these Gentlemen are so indefatigable in their Labours among the *Indians*, as that the most equal Judges must acknowledge them worthy of much greater Salaries than they are generously contented with. But one may see then who inspired that clamorous
(tho

(tho contemptible and blasted) Persecutor of this Country, who very zealously Addressed the late A. B. of Canterbury, that these Ministers might be deprived of their little Stipends, and that the said Stipends might go to maintain that way of Worship among us, which the Plantation was erected on purpose for the peaceable avoiding of.

(h) *The sacred and solemn Exercises perform'd in the Indian Congregations.*

MY Father's account of the Exercises performed in the Indian Congregations, will tell us what a blessed Fruit our *Eliot* saw of his Labours, before he went unto those Rewards which God had reserv'd in the Heavens for him. Some of the *Indians* quickly built for themselves good and large Meeting-houses, after the *English* Mode, in which also after the *English* Mode they attended the *things of the Kingdom of Heaven*. And some of the *English* were helpful to them upon this account; among whom I ought particularly to mention that Learned, Pious and Charitable Gentleman, the Worshipful *Samuel Sewal* Esq; who at his own Charge built a Meeting-house for one of the *Indi-*

an Congregations, and gave those *Indians* cause to pray for him under that Character, *He loveth our Nation, for he hath built us a Synagogue.*

It only remains that I give a touch or two upon the Worship which is attended in the Synagogue of the *Indians*. And first, the very Name of *Praying Indians* will assure us, that Prayer is one of their Devotions; be sure they could not be our *Eliot's* Disciples if it were not so. But how do they pray? we are told it is *without a Form, because from the Heart*; which is, as I remember, *Tertullian's* Expression concerning the Prayers in the Assemblies of the Primitive Christians; namely, *sine monitore quia de pectore*. It is evident, that the Primitive Christians had no stated *Liturgies* among them; that no *Forms of Prayers* were in their times imposed upon the Ministers of the Gospel; that even about the platform of Prayer given us by our Lord, it was the Opinion of *Augustin* himself, notwithstanding the advances made in his Age towards what we count *Superstitious*, that our Lord therein taught not *what words we should use in Prayer, but what things we should pray for*. And whatever *scots* the profanity of our days has abused that *Phrase* and *thing* withal, *Gregory Nazianzen*

Nazianzen in his days counted it the Honour of his Father's publick Prayers; *that he had them from, and made them by the Holy Spirit.* Our *Indians* accordingly find, that if they study the words of God, and their own Sins, and Wants, and Woes, they shall soon come to that attainment, *Behold they pray!* They can pray with much pertinence and enlargement; and would much wonder at it, if they should hear of an *English* Clergy that should read their Prayers out of a Book, when they should pour out their Souls before the God of Heaven.

Their Preaching has much of *Eliot*, and therefore you may be sure much of *Scripture*; but perhaps more of the Christian than of the Scholar in it. I know not how to describe it better, than by reciting the Heads of a Sermon, uttered by an *Indian*, on a Day of Humiliation kept by them, at a time when great Rains had given much damage to their Fruits and Fields; 'Twas on this wise: *A little I shall say, according to that little I know.*

Gen. 8. 20, 21.

And Noah built an Altar to Jehovah; he took of every clean Beast, and of every clean

clean Fowl, and offered burnt-offerings on the Altar. And the Lord smelled a sweet Savour, and the Lord said in his Heart, I will not again Curse the Ground.

‘ In that Noab sacrificed, he shew’d
‘ himself thankful; in that Noab worship-
‘ ed, he shewed himself godly. In that
‘ he offered clean Beasts, he shewed that
‘ God is an holy God. And all that
‘ come to God must be pure and clean.
‘ Know, that we must by Repentance
‘ purge our selves; which is the Work
‘ we are to do this Day.

‘ Noab sacrificed, and so worshipped.
‘ This was the manner of old time. But
‘ what Sacrifices have we now to offer?
‘ I shall answer by that in *Psal. 4. 5.* Offer
‘ to God the Sacrifice of Righteousness, and put
‘ your trust in the Lord. These are the
‘ true Spiritual Sacrifices which God re-
‘ quireth at our hands; the Sacrifices of
‘ Righteousness; that is, we must look to
‘ our Hearts and Ways, that they be
‘ Righteous; and then we shall be accep-
‘ table to God when we worship him.
‘ But if we be unrighteous, unholy, un-
‘ godly, we shall not be accepted, our
‘ Sacrifices will be stark naught. Again,
‘ we are to put our trust in the Lord. Who
‘ else is there for us to trust in? We must
‘ believe

‘ believe in the Word of God, if we doubt of
 ‘ God, or doubt of his Word, our Sacrifices
 ‘ are little worth ; but if we trust stedfast-
 ‘ ly in God, our Sacrifices will be good.

‘ Once more, what Sacrifices must we
 ‘ offer ? My answer is, we must offer
 ‘ such as *Abraham* offered. And what a
 ‘ Sacrifice was that ? We are told in *Gen.*
 ‘ 22. 12. *Now I know that thou fearest me,*
 ‘ *seeing thou hast not withheld thy Son, thy*
 ‘ *only Son from me.* It seems he had but
 ‘ one dearly beloved Son, and he offered
 ‘ that Son to God ; and so God said, *I*
 ‘ *know thou fearest me !* Behold, a Sacrifice
 ‘ indeed and in truth ! such an one must
 ‘ we offer. Only, God requires not us
 ‘ to Sacrifice our Sons, but our Sins ; our
 ‘ dearest Sins. God calls us this day to
 ‘ part with all our Sins, tho’ never so be-
 ‘ loved ; and we must not withhold any
 ‘ of them from him. If we will not part
 ‘ with all, the Sacrifice is not right. Let
 ‘ us part with such Sins as we love best,
 ‘ and it will be a good Sacrifice.

‘ *God smelt a sweet savour in Noah’s Sa-*
 ‘ *crifice ;* and so will God receive our Sa-
 ‘ crifices, when we worship him aright.
 ‘ But how did God manifest his accep-
 ‘ tance of *Noah’s Offering* ? ’Twas by
 ‘ promising to drown the World no more,
 ‘ but

‘but give us fruitful Seasons. God has
‘chastised us of late, as if he would ut-
‘terly drown us; and he has drowned,
‘and spoiled, and ruined a great deal of
‘our Hay, and threatens to kill our Cat-
‘tel. ’Tis for this that we Fast and Pray
‘this Day. Let us then offer a clean and
‘pure Sacrifice, as *Noah* did; so God
‘will smell a favour of Rest, and he will
‘withhold the Rain, and bless us with
‘such Fruitful Seasons as we are desiring
‘of him.

Thus Preached an Indian called *Ni-
shokkon*, above thirty years ago; and
since that, I suppose, they have grown
a little further into the *New-English* way
of Preaching: You may have in their
Sermons a *Kukkeoromwobteaonk*, that is, a
Doctrine, *Naktootemwebteaonk*, or, an
Answer, a *Witcheayeunok*, or, a Reason
with an *Ouwoteank*, or, an Use for the
close of all.

As for Holy-days, you may take it for
granted, our *Eliot* would not perswade
his Indians to any stated ones. Even
the *Christmas-Festival* it self, he knew to
be a stranger unto the Apostolical times;
that the exquisite *Vossius* himself acknow-
ledges, ’twas not celebrated in the First
or Second Century: And that there is a
Truth

Truth in the words of the great *Clement*, *Anniversarium Diem Natalis Christi, celebratum fuisse, apud vetustissimos nunquam legimur*. It was his Opinion, that if the Day of our Lord's Nativity were to be observed, it should not be in *December*: that many Churches for divers Ages kept it not in *December*, but in *January*; that *Cyril* himself, about four hundred Years after our Saviour, excuses the Novelty of the *December*-season for it, and confesses it had not been kept above ten years at *Constantinople*: No, that it should be rather in *September*, in which Month the *Jews* kept the Feast that was a Type of our Lord's Incarnation; and *Solomon* also brought the *Ark* into the Temple, for our Lord was thirty years old when he entred upon his publick Ministry; and he continued in it three years and an half; now his Death was in *March*, and it is easie then to calculate when his Birth ought to be. He knew that indeed God had hid this Day, as he did the Body of *Moses*, to prevent Idolatry; but that *Antichrist* had chose this Day to accommodate the *Pagans* in their licentious and their debauched *Saturnalia*; and that a *Tertullian* would not stick to say, *Shall we Christians, who have nothing to do with the Festivals*

Festivals of the Jews, which were of Divine Institution, embrace the Saturnalia of the Heathen? How do the Gentiles shame us, who are more true to their Religion than we are to ours? None of them will observe the Lord's Day, for fear lest they should be Christians; and shall not we then by observing their Festivals, fear lest we be made Ethnicks? In fine, it was his Opinion, That for us to have stated Holy-days, which are not appointed by the Lord Jesus Christ, is a deep Reflection upon the Wisdom of that Gracious Lord; and he brought up his Indians in the Principles which the old Waldenses had about such non-instituted Holy-days.

Nevertheless, he taught them to set apart their Days both for Fasting and Prayer, and for Feasting and Praise, when there should be *extraordinary Occasions* for them; and they perform the Duties of these Days with a very laborious Piety. One Party of the *Indians* long since, of their own accord, kept a *Day of Supplication* together, wherein one of them discoursed upon *Psal. 66. 7. He rules by his power for ever, his eyes behold the nations: let not the rebellious exalt themselves.* And when one asked them afterwards, what was their reason of their keeping such a Day?

Day? they reply'd, *It was to obtain five Mercies of God.*

‘ First, That God would slay the rebellion of their Hearts. Next, That they might love God and one another. ‘ Thirdly, That they might withstand the ‘ Temptations of Wicked Men, so that ‘ they might not be drawn back from ‘ God. Fourthly, That they might be ‘ Obedient unto the Counsels and Commands of their Rulers. Fifthly, That ‘ they might have their Sins done away ‘ by the Redemption of Jesus Christ. And ‘ lastly, That they might walk in the good ‘ ways of the Lord. I must here embrace my opportunity to tell the World, That our cautious *Eliot* was far from the Opinion of those who have thought it not only warrantable, but also commendable to Adopt some Heathenish Usages into the Worship of God, for the more easie and speedy gaining of the Heathen to that Worship. The policy of treating the *Pagan* Rites as the *Jews* were to do Captives, before they married them, to shave their Hair, and pare their Nails, our *Eliot* counted as ridiculous as pernicious. He knew that the Idolatries and Abominations of Popery, were founded in this way of Profelyting the barbarous Nations, which

which made their Descent upon the Roman Empire; and he look'd upon the like methods which the Protestants have used, that they might ingratiate themselves with the Papists, and that our Separation from them should become less dangerous and sensible, to be the most sensible and dangerous wound of the Reformation. Wherefore, as no less a Man than D. Henry Moor says about our Compliances with the Papists, which are a sort of Pagans, *Their Conversion and Salvation being not to be compassed by needless Symbolizing with them in any thing, I conceive our best policy is studiously to imitate them in nothing, but for all indifferent things, to think rather the worse of them for their using of them. As no Person of Honour would willingly go in the known Garb of infamous Persons. Whatsoever we court them in, they do but turn it to our scorn and contempt, and are the more hardened in their own wickedness.* To act upon this Principle, is the design and glory of New-England! And our Eliot was of this Perswasion, when he brought his Indians to a pure, plain, Scripture Worship. He would not gratifie them with a Samaritan sort of blended, mixed Worship; and he imagined, as well he might, that the Apostle Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians had

enough

enough in it, for ever to deter us all from such unhapyy Temporizing.

(i) *A Comparison between what the New-Englanders have done for the Conversion of the Indians, and what has been done elsewhere by the Roman Catholicks.*

IT is to be confessed, That the *Roman Catholicks* have a Clergy so very numerous, and so little encumbred, and are Masters of such prodigious Ecclesiastical Revenues, as renders it very easie for them to exceed the *Protestants* in their endeavours to Christianize the *Pagan Salvages*. Nor would I reproach, but rather applaud their industry in this matter, wishing that we were all touched with an Emulation of it. Nevertheless, while I commend their Industry, they do by their Clamours against the Reformed Churches upon this account, oblige me to tax divers very scandalous things in the *Missions* which they make *pro propaganda fide* throughout the World; and therewithal to compare what has been done by that little handful of Reformed Churches in this Country, which has in divers regards out-done the furthest Efforts of Popery.

The

The attainments, which with God's help we have carried up our *Indians* unto, are the chief honour and glory of our Labours with them. The Reader will smile perhaps, when I tell him, that by an odd accident there are lately fallen into my hands, the Manuscripts of a *Jesuit*, whom the *French* employed as a *Missionary* among the *Western Indians*; in which Papers there are both a *Catechism* containing the Principles which those Heathens are to be instructed in; and *Cases of Conscience*, referring to their Conversations. The *Catechism*, which is in the *Iroquoise* Language (a Language remarkable for this, that there is not so much as a *Labial* in it) with a Translation annexed, has one Chapter about *Heaven*, and another about *Hell*, wherein are such Thick skul'd passages as these.

'Q. *How is the Soil made in Heaven?*

'A. 'Tis a very fair Soyl; they want neither for *Meats* nor *Clothes*; 'tis but *wishing*, and we have them.

'Q. *Are they employ'd in Heaven?*

'A. No, they do nothing; the *Fields* yield *Corn*, *Beans*, *Pumpkins*, and the like without any *Tillage*.

'Q. *What sort of Trees are there?*

'A. Always green, full and flourishing.

Q.

‘ Q. *Have they in Heaven the same Sun,
‘ the same Wind, the same Thunder that we
‘ have here?*

‘ ‘ A. No, the Sun ever shines ; ’tis al-
‘ ways fair weather.

‘ Q. *But how their Fruits?*

‘ A. In this one quality they exceed
‘ ours ; that they are never wasted ; you
‘ have no sooner pluckt one, but you see
‘ another presently hanging in its room.
‘ And after this rate goes on the *Catechism*
‘ concerning Heaven. Concerning Hell
‘ it thus discourses :

‘ Q. *What sort of a Soil is that of Hell?*

‘ A. A very wretched Soil ; ’tis a fiery
‘ Pit, in the Center of the Earth.

‘ Q. *Have they any light in Hell?*

‘ A. No, ’tis always dark ; there’s al-
‘ ways Smoke there ; their Eyes are al-
‘ ways in pain with it ; they can see no-
‘ thing but the Devils.

‘ Q. *What shap’d things are the Devils?*

‘ A. Very ill shap’d things ; they go
‘ about with Vizards on ; and they ter-
‘ rifie Men.

‘ Q. *What do they eat in Hell?*

‘ A. They are always hungry ; but the
‘ damned feed upon hot Ashes and Ser-
‘ pents there.

‘ Q. *What water have they to drink?*

‘ A.

' A. Horrid Water ; nothing but melted Lead.

' Q. *Don't they die in Hell?*

' A. No, yet they eat one another every day ; but anon God restores and renews the Man that was eaten, as a cropt Plant, in a little time repullulates.

It seems they have not thought this Divinity too gross for the Barbarians, But I shall make no reflections on it ; only add one or two *Cases of Conscience* from their Directory.

'Tis one of their weighty Cases, ' Whether a Christian be bound to pay his Whore her Hire, or no ? To this Father Bruias answers, *Tho' he be bound in justice to do it, yet inasmuch as the Barbarians [and you must suppose their Whores to be such !] use to keep no Faith in such matters, the Christians may chuse whether they will keep any too.* But Father Pierron with a most profound Learning answers, *He is not bound unto it all ; inasmuch as no Man thinks himself bound to pay a Witch that has enchanted him ; and this business is pretty much akin to that.* Another of their difficult Cases, is, ' Whether an Indian stealing an Hatchet from a Dutchman, be bound to make Restitution ? And it is very conscientiously determin'd. ' That

‘ if the *Dutchman* be one that has used a
 ‘ ny Trade with other *Indians*, the Thief
 ‘ is not bound unto any Restitution ; for
 ‘ ’tis certain, he gains more by such a
 ‘ Trade than the value of many Hatchets
 ‘ in a Year.

I’ll tire my Reader with no more of
 this wretched stuff. But let him under-
 stand, that the Profelyted *Indians* of *New-
 England* have been instructed at a more
 noble rate ; we have helped them to the
 sincere Milk of the Word : We have gi-
 ven them the *whole Bible* in their own
 Language, we have laid before them such
 a *Creed* as the Primitive Believers had, with
 such Explications as we embark our own
 Souls upon the Assurance of. And God
 has blessed our Education of these poor
 Creatures in such a measure, that they
 can Pray and Preach to better Education
 (give me leave to say it) than multitudes
 of the *Romish-Clergymen*. We could have
 Baptized many Troops of *Indians*, if we
 would have used no other measures with
 them, than the *Roman Catholicks* did up-
 on theirs at *Maryland*, where they Bap-
 tized a great Crew of *Indians*, in some
 new Shirts, bestow’d upon them to en-
 courage them thereunto ; but the *Indians*
 in a week or two, not knowing how to
 wash

wash their shirts, when they were grown
foul, came and made a motion, that the
Roman Catholicks would give more shirts
to them, or else they would Renounce
their Baptism. No, 'tis a *Thorough paced*
Christianity, without which we have not
imagined our *Indians* Christianized.

Nor have we been acted with a *Roman-
Catholick Avarice* and *Falsity* and *Cruelty* in
prosecuting of our Conversions; 'tis the
Spirit of an *ELIOT*, that has all along
directed us. 'Tis a Specimen of the *Pop-
ish Avarice*, that their Missionaries are
very rarely employed but where *Bever,*
and *Silver*, and vast *Riches* are to be there-
by gained; their Ministry is but a sort
of Engine, to enrich *Europeans* with the
Treasures of the *Indies*; thus one escaped
from Captivity among the *Spaniards*, told
me, that the *Spanish Priars* had carried
their Gospel into the spacious Country of
California; but finding the *Indians* there
to be extremely poor, they quickly gave
over the work, because forsooth *such a poor*
Nation was not worth Converting. Whereas
the *New-Englanders* could expect nothing
from their *Indians*. We are to feed them
and cloath them rather than receive any-
thing from them, when we bring them
home to God. Again, the *Popish Falsity*
G 2 disposes

disposes them to so much *Legerdemain* in their Applications, as is very disagreeable to the Spirit and Progress of the Gospel. My worthy Friend, *Mynbeer Daille*, who has been sedulous and successful in his Ministry among the *Maqua's*, assures me, that a *French* Predicator, having been attempting to bring over those *Indians* unto the Interest (not of our Saviour, so much as) of *Canada*, at last, for a cure of their Infidelity, told them, he would give them a sign of God's Displeasure at them for it; *The Sun should such a day be put out.* This terrify'd them at a sad rate, and with great admiration and expectation, they told the *Dutch* of what was to come to pass; the *Dutch* reply'd, *This was no more than every Child among them could foretel; they all knew there would then be an Eclipse of the Sun, but (said they) speak to Monsieur, that he would get the Sun extinguish'd a day before, or a day after what he spoke of, and if he can do that, believe him.* When the *Indians* thus understood what a Trick the *Frenchmen* would have put upon them, they became irreconcilably prejudiced against all his offers; nor have the *French* been since able to gain much upon that considerable People. The *New-Englanders* have used no such Stratagems and Knaveries;

veries; 'tis the pure light of truth, which is all that has been used for the effecting of the rude People, whom 'twas easie to have cheated into our Profession. Much less have we used that Popish Cruelty, which the Natives of *America* have by some other People been treated with. Even a Bishop of their own, hath published very Tragical Histories of the *Spanish* Cruelties upon the *Indians* of this Western World. Such were those Cruelties, that the *Indians* at length declared, *Thsy had rather go to Hell with their Ancestors, than to the same Heaven which the Spaniards pretended unto.* 'Tis indeed impossible to reckon up, the various and exquisite Barbarities with which these execrable *Spaniards* murdered in less than fifty Years, no less than fifty Millions of the *Indians*; it seems this was their way of bringing them into the Sheepfold of our Merciful Jesus; but on the other side, the good People of *New England* have carried it with so much tenderness towards the Tawny Creatures among whom we live, that they would not own so much as one foot of Land in the Country, without a fair Purchase and Consent from the Natives that laid claim unto it; albeit we had a Royal Charter from the King of *Great Britain*, to pro-

test us in our Settlement upon this Continent. I suppose, 'twas in revenge upon us for this Conscientiousness, that the late oppressors of *New-England*, acknowledged no Man to have any Title at all, unto one *Foot of Land* in all our Colony. But we did, and we do think, notwithstanding the Banterers of such Ill Men, that the *Indians* had not by their Paganism so forfeited all Right unto any of their Possessions, that the first pretended Christians that could, might violently and yet honestly seize upon them. Instead of this, the People of *New-England*, knowing that some of the English were sufficiently covetous and encroaching, and that the *Indians* in streights are easily prevailed upon, to sell their Lands, made a Law, *That none should Purchase, or so much as Receive any Land of the Indians, without the allowance of the General Court.* Yea, and some Lands which were peculiarly convenient for the *Indians*, our People, who were more careful of them than they were of themselves, made a Law, *That they should never be bought out of their Hands.* I suppose after this, it would surprise Mankind, if they should hear such wonderful Creatures as our late Secretary, affirming, *This barbarous People were never civilly*

civilly treated by the late Government, who made it their business to encroach upon their Lands, and by degrees to drive them out of all. But, how many other Laws we made in favour of the *Indians*, 'tis not easie to reckon up. 'Twas one of our Laws, ' That for the further Encouragement of ' the hopeful Work among them, for the ' Civilizing & Christianizing of them, any ' *Indian* that should be brought unto Civility, and come to live orderly in any ' *English* Plantation, should have such ' Allotments among the *English*, as the ' *English* had themselves. And, that if a ' competent number of them, should so ' come on to Civility, as to be capable ' of a Township, the General Court ' should grant them Lands for a Plantation, as they do unto the *English*; Altho we had already bought up their Claims unto our Lands. We likewise had our Laws. That if any of our Cattle did any damage to their Corn, we should make them ample Satisfaction; and that we should give them all manner of Assistance in Fencing of their Fields. And because the *Indians* are excessively given unto the Vice of Drunkenness, which was a Vice unknown to them, until the *English* brought Strong-drink in their way, we have had a severe

Law against all selling or giving any *In-toxicating Liquors* to them. It were well if this Law were more severely Executed.

By this time I hope I have stopp'd the Calumnious Exclamations of the *Roman Catholicks* against the Churches of the Reformation, for neglecting to Evangelize the Natives of the *Indies*. But let me take this occasion to address the Christian *Indians* of my own Country, into some of whose hands 'tis likely this little Book may come.

¶ Behold ye *Indians*, what love, what care, what cost, has been used by the *English* here, for the Salvation of your Precious and Immortal Souls. It is not because we have expected any *Temporal Advantage* from you, that we have been thus concerned for your good: No, 'tis God that has caused us to desire his Glory in your Salvation; and our hearts have bled with pity over you, when we have seen how horribly the Devil Oppressed you in this, and destroyed you in another World. It is *much* that has been done for you, we have put you into a way to be happy both on *Earth* while you live, and in *Heaven* when ye Dye. What can you think will become of you, if you slight all these Glorious offers

offers! me thinks you should say to your
selves, *Vitob woh kiifinne peb quoh humunan
mishanantamog ne mohsag wadchanituonk!*
You all believe that your Teacher Eliot
was a Good and a Brave Man, and you
would count it your Blessedness to be
for ever with him. Nevertheless, I am
to tell you, that if you don't become
Real, and Thorough, and Holy Chri-
stians, you shall never have a comfortable
sight of him any more. You know
how he has fed you, and cloath'd you,
as well as Taught you; you know
how his Bowels yerned over you, even
as tho' you had been his Children, when
he saw any Afflictions come upon you;
but if he find you among the wicked,
in the day of Judgment, which he so
often warn'd you of, he will then be
a Dreadful Witness against you; and
when the Lord Jesus passeth that sentence
on you, *Depart ye Cursed into Everlasting
Fire with the Devil and his Angels*, even
your own Eliot will then say, *Amen*, un-
to it all. Now to deal plainly with you,
there are two Vices, which many of
you are too prone unto, and which are
utterly inconsistent with a True Chri-
stianity. One of those Vices is that of
Idleness; if you had a Disposition to

‘ follow an honest Calling, what should
‘ hinder you from growing as Conside-
‘ rable in your Estates, as many of your
‘ English Neighbours? Whereas, you are
‘ now poor, mean, ragged, starved, con-
‘ temptible and miserable; and instead
‘ of being able, as your English Neigh-
‘ bours do, to support the Ordinances of
‘ God, you are beholden to them, not
‘ only for maintaining of those Blessed
‘ Ordinances among you, but for many
‘ other kindneses. And have you indeed
‘ forgot the *Commandment* of God which
‘ has been so often laid before you, *Six*
‘ *days shalt thou Labour!* For shame apply
‘ your selves to such Labour as may bring
‘ you into more Handsome Circumstan-
‘ ces. But the other of those Vices, is that
‘ of *Drunkenness*. There are godly *English*
‘ *Neighbours*, of whom you should learn
‘ to pray; but there are some of you that
‘ learn to Drink, of other profane, de-
‘ bauched *English Neighbours*. Poor Crea-
‘ tures, ’tis by this Iniquity that Satan still
‘ keeps possession of many Souls among
‘ you, as much as if you were still in all
‘ your woful *Heathenism*; and how often
‘ have you been told, *Drunkards shall not in-*
‘ *herit the Kingdom of God!* I beseech you to
‘ be sensible of the mischiefs to which this
‘ thing

‘ thing exposes you , and never dream of
 ‘ escaping the *Vengeance of Eternal Fire*, if
 ‘ you indulge your selves in this *Accursed*
 ‘ *Thing*. I have done, when I have wish’d
 ‘ that the *Gospel* of the Lord Jesus may
 ‘ always *Run and be Glorified* among you.

The Conclusion, or, Eliot Expiring.

BY this time, I have doubtless made
 my Readers loth to have me tell
 what now remains of this little History;
 doubtless they are wishing that this *John*
 might have *Tarried untill the Second coming*
of our Lord. But, alas, All-devouring
 Death at last snatch’d him from us, and
 slighted all those Lamentations of ours,
My Father, My Father, the Chariots of Is-
rael, and the Horsemen thereof!

When he was become a sort of *Miles*
Emeritus, and began to draw near his End,
 he grew still more Heavenly, more Savory,
 more Divine, and Scented more of
 the Spicy Country at which he was ready
 to put ashore. As the Historian observes,
 of *Tiberius*; That when his Life
 and Strength were going from him, his
 Vice.

Vice yet remained with him ; on the contrary, the Grace of this Excellent Man rather increased than abated, when every thing else was dying with him. 'Tis too usual with Old Men, that when they are past work, they are least sensible of their inabilities and incapacities, and can scarce endure to see another succeeding them in any part of their Office. But our *Eliot* was of a Temper quite contrary thereunto ; for finding many Months before his Expiration, That he had not Strength enough to Edify his Congregation with publick *Prayers* and *Sermons*, he importun'd his People with some impatience to call another Minister ; professing himself, unable to die with comfort, until he could see a good Successor Ordain'd, Settled and Fixed among them. For this Cause, he also cry'd mightily unto the Lord Jesus, our Ascended Lord, that he would give such a gift unto *Roxbury* ; and he sometimes call'd his whole Town together, to joyn with him in a Fast for such a Blessing. As the return of their Supplications, our Lord quickly bestow'd upon them, a Person young in Years, but old in Discretion, Gravity and Experience ; and one whom the Church of *Roxbury* hopes to find, *A Pastor after God's own Heart.*

It was Mr. *Nebemiah Walter*, who being by the unanimous Vote and Choice of the Church there, become the *Pastor of Roxbury*, immediately found the Venerable *Eliot* Embracing and Cherishing of him, with the tender Affections of a *Father*. The good Old Man like Old *Aaron* as it were disrobed himself, with an unspeakable Satisfaction, when he beheld his Garments put upon a Son so dear unto him. After this, he for a year or two before his Translation, could scarce be perswaded unto any publick Service, but humbly pleaded, what none but he would ever have said, *It would be a wrong to the Souls of the people, for him to do any thing among them, when they were supplied so much to their Advantage otherwise.* If I mistake not, the Last that ever he Preached was on a publick Fast; when he fed his People with a very distinct, and useful Exposition upon the Eighty Third Psalm; and he concluded with an Apology, begging his Hearers to pardon the poorness, and meanness and brokenness, (as he called it) of his Meditations, but added he, *My dear Brother here, will by and by mend all.*

But altho' he thus dismissed himself, as one so near to the Age of Ninety, might
well

well have done from his publick Labours; yet he would not give over his endeavours, in a more private Sphere, to *Do good unto all*. He had always been an Enemy to Idleness; any one that should look into the little *Diary* that he kept in his *Almanacks* would see that there was with him, *No day without a Line*; he was troubled when he saw how much Time was devoured by the slavery to *Tobacco*, which too many debase themselves unto; and now he grew old, he was desirous that his Work should hold pace with his Life; the less Time he saw left, the less was he willing to have lost. He imagined that he could now do nothing to any purpose in any Service for God; and sometimes he would say with an Air peculiar to himself, *I wonder for what the Lord Jesus Christ lets me live; he knows that now I can do nothing for him!* And yet he could not forbear Essaying to do something for his dearest Lord; wherefore, thought he, *What shall I do?* And he then conceived, that tho' the *English* could not be benefited by any Gifts which he now fancied himself to have only the Ruines of, yet who can tell but the *Negro's* might! He had long lamented it with a bleeding and burning passion, that the

the *English* used their *Negro's* but as for Horses for their Oxen, and that so little care was taken about their precious and immortal Souls, he look'd upon it as a Prodigy, that any wearing the Name of Christians, should so much have the Heart of Devils in them, as to prevent and hinder the Instructions of the poor *Blackamoors*, and confine the Souls of their miserable Slaves to a destroying ignorance, meerly for fear of thereby losing the benefit of their Vassalage; but now he made a motion to the *English* within two or three miles of him, that at such a time and place they would send their *Negro's* once a week unto him: For he would then Catechise them, and Enlighten them to the utmost of his power in the things of their Everlasting Peace; however, he did not live to make much progress in this Undertaking.

At length when he was able to do little without doors, he try'd then to do something within; and one thing was this. A young Boy in the Neighbourhood, had in his Infancy fallen into a fire, so as to burn himself into a perfect Blindness; but this Boy being now grown to some bigness, the good old Man took him home to his house, with some intention to make

a *Scholar* of him. He first informed him of and from the *Scripture*, in which the Boy so profited, that in a little time he could even Repeat many whole *Chapters* Verbatim, and if any other in Reading missed a word, he would mind them of it ; yea, and an ordinary piece of Latin was become easie to the Lad ; but having his own *Eyes* closed by Death, he could no longer help the poor Child against the want of his.

Thus, as the Aged Polycarp could say, *These Eighty Six years have I served my Lord Jesus Christ ; and he has been such a good Master to me all this while, that I will not now forsake him.* Such a Polycarp was our Eliot ; he had been so many years engaged in the sweet service of his dear Jesus, that he could not now give it over : 'Twas his Ambition and his Priviledge, to bring forth Fruit in old Age ; and what veneration the Church of *Smyrna* paid unto that Angel of theirs, we were upon the like Accounts willing to give unto this Man of God.

While he was thus making his Retreat out of this evil World, his Discourses from time to time ran upon, *The Coming of the Lord Jesus Christ* ; it was the Theme which he still had Recourse unto, and we were

were sure to have something of *this*, whatever other Subject he were upon. On *this* he talk'd, of *this* he pray'd, for *this* he long'd, and especially when any bad News arriv'd, his usual reflection thereupon would be, *Behold some of the Clouds in which we must look for the coming of the Son of Man.* At last, his Lord, for whom he had been long wishing, *Lord come, I have been a great while ready for thy coming!* at last, I say, his Lord *came*, and fetch'd him away into the *Joy of his Lord.*

He fell into some Languishments, attended with a *Fever*, which in a few days brought him into the Pangs (may I say? or Joys) of Death; and while he lay in these, Mr. *Walter* coming to him, he said unto him, *Brother, Thou art welcome to my very Soul. Pray, Retire to my Study for me, and give me leave to be gone;* meaning that he should not, by Petitions to Heaven for his Life, detain him here. It was in these Languishments, that speaking about the Work of the Gospel among the *Indians*, he did after this heavenly manner express himself, *There is a Cloud* (said he) *a dark Cloud upon the Work of the Gospel among the poor Indians. The Lord revive and prosper that Work. and grant it may live when I am dead. It is a Work which I*
have

have been doing much and long about. But what was the word I spoke last? I recal that word, My Doings: Alas, they have been poor and small and lean Doings, and I'll be the Man that shall throw the first stone at them all.

It has been observed, that they who have spoke many considerable things in their Lives, usually speak few at their Deaths. But it was otherwise with our *Eliot*, who after much Speech of and for God in his Life-time, uttered some things little short of *Oracles* on his Death-bed; which, 'tis a thousand Pities, they were not more exactly regarded and recorded. Those Authors that have taken the pains to Collect, *Apophthegmata Morentium*, have not therein been unerviceable to the Living; but the *Apophthegms* of a Dying *Eliot* must have had in them a Grace and a Strain truly extraordinary; and indeed the vulgar Error of the signal Sweetness in the Song of a Dying Swan, was a very Truth in our expiring *Eliot*; his last Breath smelt strong of Heaven, and was Articled into none but very gracious Notes; one of the last whereof, was, *welcome Foy!* and at last it went away, calling upon the standers by, to *Pray, pray, pray!* which was the thing in which so vast a Portion of it had been before employ'd. This

This was the Peace, in the end of this *Perfect and upright Man*; thus was there another Star fetched away to be placed among the rest that the third Heaven is now enriched with. He had once, I think, a pleasant Fear, that the old Saints of his Acquaintance, especially those two dearest Neighbours of his, *Cotton of Boston*, and *Mather of Dorchester*, which were got safe to Heaven before him, would suspect him to be gone the wrong way because he staid so long behind them. But they are now together with a blessed Jesus, *beholding of his Glory*, and celebrating the high Praises of Him that has call'd them into his *marvellous light*. Whether Heaven was any more Heaven to him, because of his finding there so many Saints with whom he once had his *Delicious and Celestial Intimacies*, yea, and so many Saints which had been the Seals of his own Ministry, in this lower world, I cannot say; but it would be Heaven enough unto him, to go unto that Jesus, whom he had lov'd, preach'd, serv'd, and in whom he had been long assured, there does *All fulness dwell*. In that Heaven I now leave him: But not without *Grynæus's* Pathetical Exclamations [*O beatum illum dieum!*]
'Blessed will be the Day, O blessed the
'Day

' Day of our Arrival to the glorious Assembly of Spirits, which this great Saint ' is now rejoicing with !

Bereaved *New-England*, where are thy Tears, at this ill boding Funeral? We had a Tradition among us, ' That the ' Country could never perish as long as ' *Eliot* was alive. But into whose hands must this *Hippo* fall, now the *Austin* of it is taken away? Our *Elisha* is gone, and now who must next year invade the Land? The *Jews* have a saying, *Quando Luminaria patiuntur Eclipsin, malum signum est mundo*: But I am sure, 'tis a dismal Eclipse that has now befallen our *New-English* World. I confess, many of the *Ancients* fell into the vanity of esteeming the Reliques of the *Dead Saints*, to be the *Towers* and *Ramparts* of the place that enjoy'd them; and the *dead Bodies* of two *Apostles* in the City, made the Poet cry out,

A Facie Hostilis duo propugnacula præsunt.

If the Dust of *dead Saints* could give us any protection, we are not without it; here is a Spot of *American Soil* that will afford a rich Crop of it, at the *Resurrection of the Just*. Poor *New England* has been as *Glastenbury* of old was called, *A*
Bury-

Burying Place of Saints, But we cannot see a more terrible Prognostick than Tombs filling apace with such Bones, as those of the Renowned *Eliot's*: The whole Building of this Country trembles at the fall of such a Pillar.

For many Months before he dy'd, he would often cheerfully tells us, ' That he was shortly going to Heaven, and ' that he would carry a deal of good ' News thither with him ; *he said*, He ' would carry Tidings to the Old Founders of *New England*, which were now ' in Glory, that Church-work was yet carried on among us: That the number ' of our Churches was continually encreasing : and that the Churches were still ' kept as big as they were, by the daily ' additions of those that shall be saved. But the going of such as he from us, will apace diminish the occasions of such happy tidings,

What shall we now say ? Our *Eliot* himself used most affectionately to bewail the Death of all useful Men ; yet if one brought him the notice of such a thing, with any Dispondencies, or said, O Sir, *such a one is Dead, what shall we do ?* He would answer, *Well, but God lives, Christ lives, the Old Saviour of New England yet lives,*

lives, and he will Reign till all his Enemies are made his Footstool. This and only this consideration have we to relieve us; and let it be accompanied with our addresses to the *God of the Spirits of all Flesh*, That there may be *Timothies* raised up in the room of our departed *Pauls*; and that when our *Moses's* are gone, the Spirit which was in those brave men, may be put upon the surviving *Elders of our Israel*.

The last thing, that ever our *Eliot* put off, was, *The care of all the Churches*, which with a most Apostolical and Evangelical Temper he was continually solicitous about. When the Churches of *New-England* were under a very uncomfortable prospect, by the advantage which men that sought the Ruine of those Golden and Holy, and Reformed Societies, had obtained against them, God put it into the heart of one well-known in these Churches, to take a Voyage into *England*, that he might by his Mediations at *Whitehall*, divert the *Storms* that were then impending over us. 'Tis not easy to express what Affection our Aged *Eliot* prosecuted this undertaking with; and what Thanksgiving he rendred unto God for any hopeful Successes of it. But because one of the last Times, and for ought I know,
The

The Last, of his ever setting Pen to Paper in the World, was upon this occasion; I shall transcribe a short Letter, which was written by the shaking hand, that had heretofore by Writing deserved so well from the Church of God, but was now taking its leave of writing for ever. It was written to the Person that was Engaging for us, and thus it ran;

Reverend and Beloved, Mr. Increase Mather.

‘ I cannot write. Read Neh. 2. 10.
 ‘ When *Sanbalat* the *Horonite*, and *Tobijak* the Servant, the *Ammonite* heard of
 ‘ it, it grieved them exceedingly, that
 ‘ there was come a Man to seek the Welfare of the Children of *Israel*.
 ‘ Let thy blessed Soul feed full and fat
 ‘ upon *this* and other Scriptures. All
 ‘ other things I leave to other Men;
 ‘ and rest,

Your Loving Brother,

John Eliot.

These two or three Lines manifest the Care of the Churches which breath’d in this great old Man, as long as he had a Breath to draw in the World. And since he has left few like him for a comprehensive and universal

universal Regard unto the Prosperity of all the *Flocks* in this Wilderness, we have little now to comfort us in the loss of one so like a *Patriarch* among us, but only this; That our poor Churches, it may be hop'd, have still some Interest in the *Cares* of our Lord Jesus Christ, *Who walks in the midst of the Golden Candlesticks*. Lord make our Churches and keep them, yet *Golden Candlesticks*! Amen.

But I have not obtained the end of this History, nor may I let this History come to an end, until I do with some importunity bespeak the Endeavours of good Men every where, to labour in that Harvest which the blessed *ELIOT* justly counted worthy of his utmost Pains and Cares. It was the Confession of *Themistocles*, that the Victories of *Miltiades* would not let him sleep in quietness; may those of our *Eliot* raise a like Emulation in those that have now seen the Life of this Evangelical Hero! When one *Robert Baily*, many years ago, published a Book, wherein several gross Lyes by which the name of that *JOHN COTTON*, who was known to be one of the holiest Men then alive, was most injuriously made odious unto the Churches abroad, were accompanied with some Reflections upon poor
New-

New-England, whereof this was one, *The way of their Churches hath most exceedingly hindred the conversion of the poor Pagans ; of all that ever crossed the American Seas, they are noted as most neglectful of the work of Conversion.* We have now seen those Aspersions and Calumnies abundantly wip'd away. But let that which has been the *Vindication of New-England*, be also the *Emulation of the World* ; for shame, let not poor little *New-England*, be the only Protestant Country that shall do any notable thing for *the Propagation of the Faith*, unto those *dark Corners of the Earth which are full of Cruel Habitations.* But the *Addresses* of so mean a Person as my self, are like to prevail but little abroad with Men of Learning and Figure in the World. However, I shall presume to utter my Wishes in the sight of my Readers ; and it is possible that the Great God, *who despises not the Prayer of the Poor*, may by the Influences of his Holy Spirit, upon the Hearts of some whose Eyes are upon these Lines, give a blessed Answer thereunto.

Wherefore may the People of *New-England*, who have seen so sensible a difference between the Estates of those that

Sell Drink, and of those that Preach Truth, unto the miserable Salvages among them, as that even this alone might inspire them, yet from a nobler consideration than that of their own outward prosperity thereby advanced, be encouraged still to prosecute, first the Civilizing, and then the Christianizing of the *Barbarians* in their Neighbourhood ; and may the *New Englanders* be so far Politick as well as Religious, as particularly to make a Mission of the Gospel unto the mighty Nations of the *Western Indians*, whom the *French* have been of late so studiously, but so unsuccessfully tampering with ; lest those horrid *Pagans*, who lately (as 'tis credibly affirmed) had such a measure of Devilism and Insolence in them, as to shoot a Volley of great and small shot against the Heavens, in Revenge upon *the Man in the Heavens*, as they called our Lord, whom they counted the Author of the heavy Calamities which newly have distressed them, be found spared by our long suffering Lord, [who then indeed presently tore the Ground asunder, with immediate and horrible Thunders from Heaven round about them, but kill'd them not !] for a
scourge

scourge to us, that have not used our advantages to make a vertuous People of them. If a King of the *West-Saxons* long since ascribed all the Disasters on any of their Affairs, to Negligencies in this Point : Methinks the *New-Englanders* may not count it unreasonable in this way to seek their own prosperity. Shall we do what we can that our Lord Jesus may bestow upon *America*, which may more justly be call'd *Columba*, that Salutation, *O my Dove* !

May the severall Plantations, that live upon the Labours of their *Negroes*, no more be guilty of such a prodigious wickedness, as to deride, neglect, and oppose all due means of bringing their poor *Negroes* unto our Lord ; but may the Masters, of whom God will one day require the Souls of the Slaves committed unto them, see to it, that like *Abraham*, they have Catechized Servants ; and not imagine that the Almighty God made so many thousands of reasonable Creatures for nothing but only to serve the Lusts of *Epicures*, or the gains of *Mammonists*, lest the God of Heaven out of meer Pity, if not Justice, unto those unhappy *Blacks*, be provoked unto a Ven-

geance which may not without horror be thought upon : *Lord when shall we see Ethiopians read thy Scriptures with Understanding!*

May the *English* Nation do what may be done, that the *Welch* may not be destroyed for the lack of Knowledge, lest our indispotion to do for their Souls, bring upon us all those Judgments of Heaven, which *Gildas* their Country-man once told them, that they suffered for their disregards unto ours ; and may the nefandous Massacres of the *English* by the *Irish*, awaken the *English* to consider, whether they have done enough to reclaim the *Irish* from the Popish Bigottries and Abominations, with which they have been intoxicated.

May the several Factories and Companies, whose Concerns lie in *Asia*, *Africa*, or *America*, be perswaded, as *Jacob* once, and before him his Grand-Father *Abraham* was, That they always owe unto God certain Proportions of their Possessions ; by the honest payments of which little *Quit-rents*, they would certainly secure and enlarge their Enjoyment of the Principal ; but that they are under a very particular Obligations to

Com-

Communicate of our *Spiritual things* unto those Heathen, by whose *Carnal things* they are enriched : And may they therefore make it their study, to employ some able and pious Ministers, for the Instruction of those *Infidels* with whom they have to deal, and honourably support such Ministers in that Employment.

May the poor *Greeks, Armenians, Muscovites*, and others, in the Eastern Countries, wearing the name of *Christians*, that have little *Preaching*, and no *Printing*, and few *Bibles*, or good *Books*, now at last be furnished with *Bibles*, *Orthodox Catechisms*, and *Practical Treatises* by the *Charity of England*; and may our *Presses* provide good stores of good *Books* for them, in their own *Tongues*, to be scattered among them. Who knows what *Convulsions* might be hastened upon the whole *Mahomitan World* by such an extensive *Charity*.

May sufficient Numbers of Great, Wise, Rich, Learned and Godly Men in the Three Kingdoms, procure well-composed Societies, by whose United Counsels the Noble Design of Evangelizing the World, may be

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more

more effectually carried on; and if some generous Persons will of their own accord combine for such Consultations, who can tell, but like some other Celebrated Societies heretofore formed from such small beginnings, they may soon have that countenance of Authority which may produce very Glorious Effects, and give Opportunity to gather vast Contributions from all well-disposed People, to Assist and Advance this Progress of Christianity. God forbid, that *Popery* should expend upon *Cheating* more than ten times what we do upon *Saving* the Immortal Souls of Men.

Lastly, May many Worthy Men, who find their Circumstances will allow of it, get the Language of some Nations that are not yet brought home to God, and wait upon the Divine Providence, for God's Leading them to, and Owning them in their Apostolical Undertakings. When they remember what *Ruffinus* relates concerning the Conversion of the *Libyrians*; and what *Socrates*, with other Authors, relates concerning the Con-

Conversion wrought by occasion of *Frumentius* and *Aedesius*, in the *Inner-India*, all as it were by accident, surely 'twill make them try what may be done by design for such things now in our Days! Thus let them see, whither while we at home in the midst of wearisome Temptations, are Angling with Rods, which now and then catch one Soul for our LORD, they shall not be Fishing with Nets, which will bring in many thousands of those, concerning whom with unspeakable Joy in the Day of the LORD, they may say, *Behold, I, and the Children which GOD has given me!* Let them see, whether, supposing they should prosper no farther than to *Preach the Gospel of the Kingdom in all the World, for a Witness unto all Nations*, yet the End which is then to come, will not bring to them the more happy Lot, wherein they shall stand, that are found so doing.

Let no Man be discouraged by the Difficulties which the Devil will be ready to clog such Attempts against
his

his Kingdom with; for I will take leave so to Translate the Words of the Wise Man, in Prov. 27. 4. *Who is able to stand before ZEAL?* I am well-satisfied, that if Men had the Wisdom, *To discern the Signs of the Times* they would be all Hands at work to spread the Name of our JESUS into all the Corners of of the Earth. Grant it, O my GOD; and LORD JESUS come quickly.

F I N I S.

*BOOKS lately Printed for J. Dunton,
at the Raven in the Poultry.*

Proposals for Printing by way of Subscription, the Second, Third and Fourth Volumes of the French Book of Martyrs, or History of the Famous Edict of Nantes, which three Volumes, with the first ready publish'd, contain an Account of all the Persecutions that have been in France from the beginning of the Reformation, down to this present time; comprehending the Reigns of Henry III. Henry IV. Lewis XIII. and Lewis XIV. The whole Work faithfully extracted from all the Publick and Secret Memoirs that could possibly be procured by that Learned and Judicious Divine Monsieur Benneit; Printed first in French, by the Authority of the States of Holland and Westfriezland, and now translated into English, with her Majesties Royal Privilege. These Proposals are to be had of the Undertaker, John Dunton at the Raven in the Poultry, and of most Booksellers in London and the Country.

Bishop Barlow's Remains; Containing near an hundred distinct Subjects, Theological, Philosophical, Historical, &c. in Letters to several Persons of Honour and Quality. To which is added the Resolution of many abstruse Points: As also Directions to a Young Divine, for his study of Divinity, and Choice of his Library. Published from his Lordship's Original Papers. Price Bound 6 s.

The Eleventh Volume of the *Athenian Gazette*, or *Casuistical Mercury*, neatly done up in Marble paper, with a General-Title, Preface and Index

to it, (is just now publish'd) resolving all the most Nice and Curious Questions proposed by the Ingenious of either Sex ; from Tuesday July 1th to Saturday October 21st, 1693. Printed for John Dunton at the Raven in the Poultry: Where is to be had the entire Set of *Athenian Gazettes*, (and the Supplements to 'em) for the Year 1691. As also an entire Set for the Year 1692. (or single Volumes to this time.)

The Young Students Library ; Containing Extracts and Abridgments of the most valuable Books printed in *England*, and in the Foreign Journals from the Year 1665. till May 1692. To which is added a new Essay upon all sorts of Learning, by the *Athenian Society*: As also a Discourse concerning the Antiquity, Divine Original and Authority of the Points, Vowels and Accents that are plac'd to the *Hebrew-Bible*. The Compleat published Monthly, is a Continuation of this Work.

The First Volume of the *Compleat Library* ; Containing an Historical Account of the choicest Books printed in *England*, and in the Foreign Journals for the Months of May, June, July, August, September, October, and November, 1692. As also *The state of Learning* for those Months ; To which is added two Alphebetical Tables ; the one of the Books, and the other of the Matters.

The Second Volume of the *Compleat Library*, for the Months of December, January, February, March, April, May, June, July, August, September and October, 1693. Which with the Months of November and December, (now preparing for the Press) conclude this Second Volume, to which will be added two Alphebetical Tables, the one of the Books, and the other of the Matters.

The Tragedies of Sin ; Together with Remarks on the Life of the Great Abraham. By Stephen Jay,

Jay, late Rector of *Chiner* in *Oxfordshire*.

Liturgia Tigurina; Or the Book of Common-Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Ecclesiastical Rites and Ceremonies usually practised, and solemnly performed in all the Churches and Chappels of the City and Canton of *Zurick* in *Switzerland*, and in some other adjacent Countries, as by their Canons and Ecclesiastical Laws they are appointed; and as by the Supreme Power of the Right Honourable the Senate of *Zurick* they are authoriz'd, establish'd and commanded, with the Orders of that Church; faithfully translated out of the *Helvetian* into the *English* Tongue, by *Joan Conrad Wernly*. Minister of *Wrasbury cum Langley*, in the County of *Bucks*; recommended as a Work that may be of very good Satisfaction and Use, by several of our Reverend Bishops.

The Tryals of several *Witches*, Lately Executed in *New-England*, with many Remarkable Curiosities therein occurring, &c, published by the Special Command of his Excellency the Governour of *New-England*; first printed in *Boston*, and now reprinted. The Third Edition.

A Further Account of the *New-England Witches* with the Observations of a Person that was upon the place six or seven days, when the suspected *Witches* were first taken into Examination. To which is added Cases of Conscience, concerning *Witchcraft* and evil Spirits personating men. Written at the request of the Ministers of *New-England*, by *Increase Mather*, President of *Harvard Colledge*. price 1 s. This Book is printed on the same size with the first Account of the *Witch Trials*, that they might bind up together.

Mensalia Sacra: Or Meditations on the Lord's Supper; wherein the Nature of the Holy Sacrament

ment is explained, and the most weighty Cases of Consciences about it are resolv'd. By the Reverend Mr. *Francis Crow*, late Minister of the Gospel at *Clare* in *Suffolk*; to which is prefix'd a Brief Account of the Author's Life and Death, by Mr. *Henry Cuts*.

Memoirs of the Right Honourable *Arthur* Earl of *Anglesey*, late Lord Privy-Seal; intermix'd with Moral, Political and Historical Observations, by way of Discourse, in a Letter: To which is prefix'd a Letter written by his Lordship, during his Retirement from Court, in the Year 1683. published by Sir *Peter Pett*, Knight, Advocate General for the Kingdom of *England*.

The Conversion of *Theodore John*, a late Teacher among the *Jews*; together with his Confession of the Christian Faith which he delivered immediately before he was baptized. price 6 d.

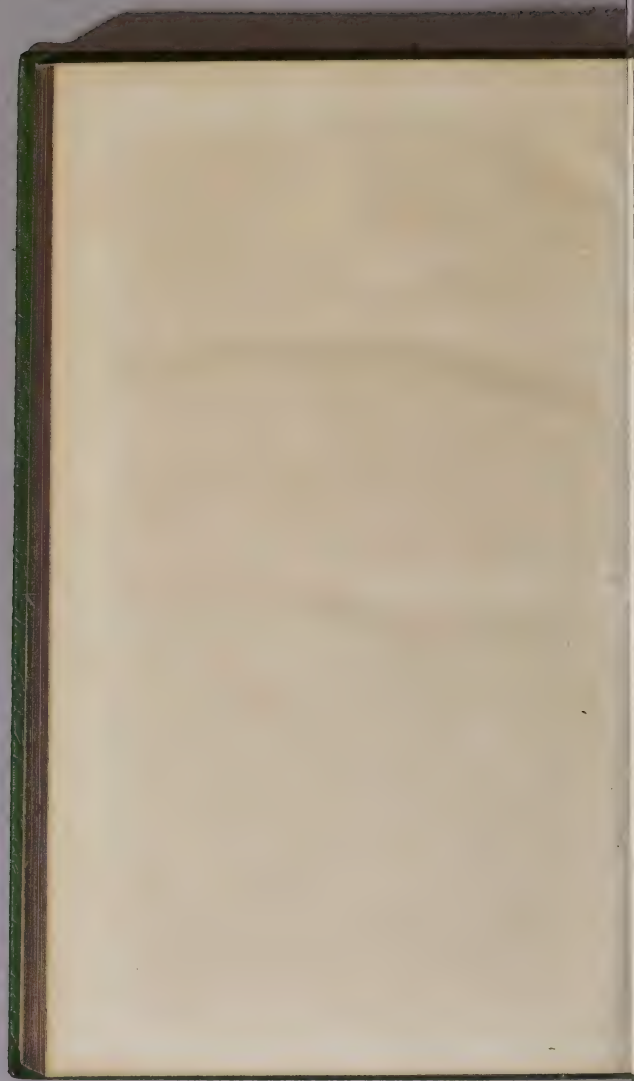
A Treatise of Fornication, occasion'd by the late Birth of several *Illegitimates* in the Parish of *Chalgrave*: To which is added a Penitentiary Sermon, preached before the Guilty Persons, in the publick Congregation, upon *John* 8. 11. *Go and sin no more*. By *William Barlow*, Rector of *Chalgrave*.

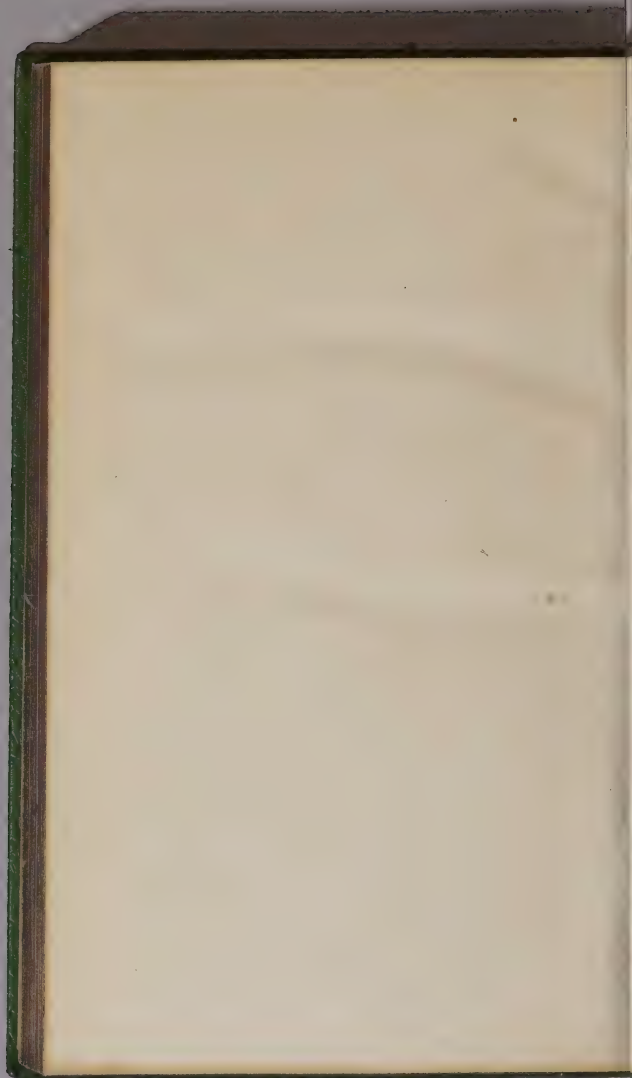
The Tryals of *Peter Boss*, *George Kietz*, *Thomas Budd* and *William Bradford*, *Quakers*, for several great Misdemeanors, before a Court of *Quakers*, at the Sessions held at *Philadelphia* in *Pensilvania* the 9th. 10th. and 12th. days of *December* 1692. Giving also an account of the most Arbitrary Procedure of that Court.

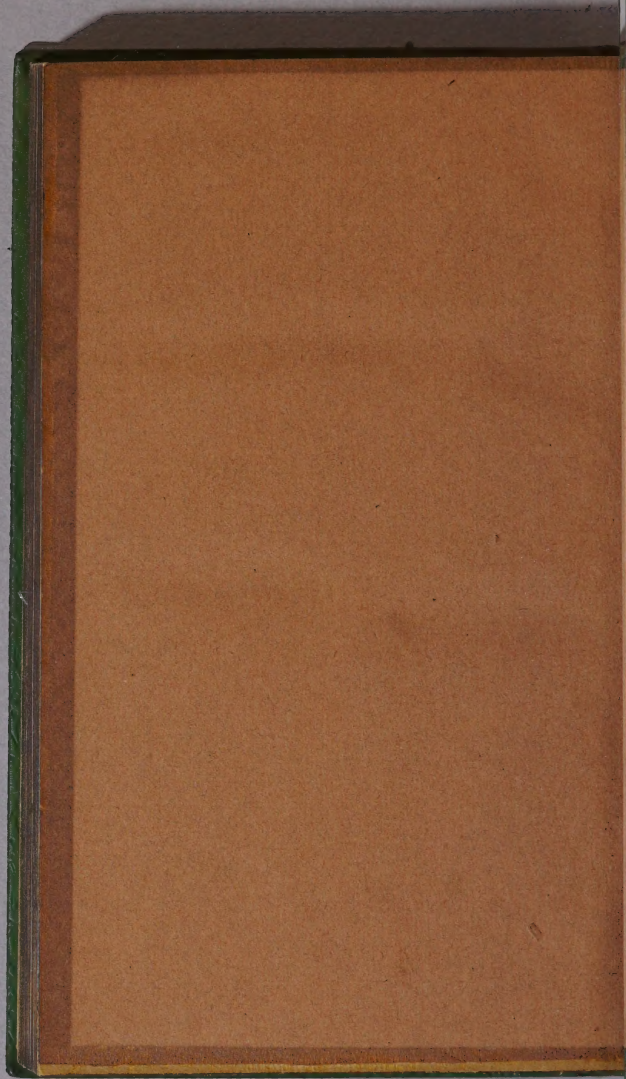
An Account of the Divisions amongst the *Quakers* in *Pensilvania*.

A further Account of the Divisions of the *Quakers* in *Pensilvania*.

The Principles, Doctrines, Laws and Orders of the *Quakers*.







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